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WORKS

OF

THE HON. AND VERY REV.

WILLIAM HERBERT,

DEAN OF MANCHESTER, ETC.

EXCEPTING THOSE ON BOTANY AND NATURAL HISTORY;

WITH

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

BY THE AUTHOR.

VOL. II.

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HORÆ PEDESTRES,

OR

PROSE WORKS;

EXCEPTING THOSE ON BOTANY AND NATURAL HISTORY.

Componimenti Lirici de più illustri Poeti d'Italia. Scelti da J. J. MATHIAS. 3 vol. *Londra.* 1803.

1804.

THAT all wrote poetry, the learned and unlearned, was the complaint even of the Augustan age: and the art of printing, by facilitating the means of circulation and the attainment of literary fame, has unquestionably increased this evil. At present, in almost every civilized country, poetry has been so multiplied, that judicious selections become very desirable; and in no cultivated language more, than in that of Italy, because none has longer maintained itself unaltered. At the close of the thirteenth century, (when the learned tongues were corrupted, the modern barbarous and unformed) the Italian phœnix sprung from the ashes of Roman literature. Dante, Cino, and after them Petrarca, not only created the poetical tongue of their country, but brought it at once to full perfection: their writings are at this day nearly the standard of poetical composition. Less vigorous than those of slower growth, the language of Italy soon reached that polished maturity, which few others have yet attained. Our own is among the most cultivated; but, three centuries after the days of Petrarch, Waller lamented its fluctuation.

> 'For who can hope, his line should long
> Live in a daily-changing tongue?
> We write in sand; our language grows,
> And, as the tide, our work o'erflows.'

The poets of Italy, numerous at all times, have continued to write in an unvarying tongue for upwards of five centuries; and, though they have left no branch of poetry unadorned, the sonnet and lyric muse have been chiefly cultivated. Their infinite increase has rendered selections so necessary, that many have been published, though none that can be reckoned satisfactory: and we lament, that the production of Mr. Mathias, though it has considerable merit, does not altogether supply the deficiency. The editor, with a certain degree of information concerning Italian poetry, has undertaken this work without rendering himself completely master of the field from which his resources were to be drawn. It is not sufficient to have chosen some striking poetry, or brought to light some latent beauties: what was wanted, was such a judicious selection from a very bulky stock, as might afford, within a moderate compass, an adequate specimen of the whole; and this we have not yet attained. In arranging such a work, different schemes might be adopted: a specimen might be given from every writer who had gained reputation amongst his contemporaries, with a brief account of his literary history: or a standard of merit might be assumed, and every production superior to it might be chosen, without regard to its author. A selection, that united both these plans, would be most valuable and entertaining; extracting more largely from the best writers, and giving a specimen, with a short account of their other works, from those whose fame might appear to exceed their real merit. We regret that Mr. Mathias adopted no regular system. He has omitted altogether several poets of considerable celebrity and excellence; he has extracted largely from some of a heavy vein,

little from others of brighter genius; he has given single sonnets from several, who are almost unknown in England, without any notice concerning them, except 'their names, their years,' imperfectly registered in a chronological index. The omission of such *notizie critiche* (without which these single sonnets have little interest) is the more singular, as the editor might have reprinted them from the Parnaso Italiano, where he would have found a concise account of most of the Italian poets. The work is also very deficient in explanatory notes, without which many allusions must be unintelligible to the best Italian scholars. It is entitled *Componimenti Lirici*, but the volumes contain only sonnets, *canzoni*, and a very few *sestine* and odes in *quarta rima*; nor is any reason assigned for the omission of the canzonette and other sorts of lyric poetry, which abound in Italy. All other selections, bearing that title, comprehend them; and they are certainly more truly lyric, than the sonnet. Mr Mathias writes Italian with great accuracy; and some lines in his dedicatory ode are excellent. His translation from Gray, and the sonnet in the third volume, are not quite so unexceptionable; the last line, 'Beltà con senno sia possente Maga,' reminds us of one in the Lucciola d' Avanzi, 'Beltà fascinatrice e d' amor Maga.' With a distinguishing taste, and an accurate knowledge of the language, the editor might have made this work truly valuable, if he had bestowed more labour upon it, and acquired the extensive information, without which it could not be rendered perfect.

The English reader, who is not deeply versed in the literature of Italy, but partial to the poetry of his own country, has probably seen with interest in the compli-

mentary letter of Algarotti in Mason's Gray, that the odes of Chiabrera, Guidi, and Lazzarini, were the pride of Italy, and considered superior to any other modern productions of the lyric muse. Impressed with this idea, and curious to see the poetry, to which the odes of Gray have been compared by a writer of such eminence, he probably looked with eagerness through the selection for these distinguished authors. Of the two first, he may have found enough perhaps to satisfy his curiosity; but, when he looked for the poetry of Lazzarini, what must have been his surprise at finding one solitary sonnet! In the chronological index, indeed, he is altogether omitted; and, amongst the many Italian names, which are strung together in the preface, and the editor's Arcadian letter "to his most erudite friends Alcèo and Aristippo," that of Lazzarini does not appear. Algarotti was not, however, singular in his opinion; for we well remember the elegant lamentation of Bettinelli, his rival in literary fame.

'Oimè! le Muse, che allataron Bembo,
Che sul Pò nutricar l' Italo Omero,
Or solitarie in su la fredda tomba
Piangon di *Lazzarini* e di Manfredi.'

Lazzarini's works are scarce in England, but seven of his sonnets and three of his odes will be found in the Scelta di Gobbi. He died in 1734.

From the lyric writings of Chiabrera, Mr. Mathias has selected eleven canzoni. If he had been thoroughly acquainted with his works, he must have known that Chiabrera wrote also near a hundred sonnets, of which a specimen should certainly have been given; as their style is by no means inferior to that of his *canzoni*. The

reputation of Chiabrera, which has always been very considerable in Italy, surpasses his actual merit, but he was a prolific writer, and attempted every species of poetry.

As Lope de Vega continued the story of Angelica from Ariosto in twenty Spanish cantos, Chiabrera, who was his contemporary, pursued that of Logistilla and Rugiero in ten books of blank verse. He wrote also an epic poem on the wars of the Goths in Italy, and several dramatic pieces; but he was most successful in light Anacreontic odes, which he is said to have introduced into the Italian language. He acquired the high name of *il gran Savonese*, as Menzini styles him, by copying the Greek poets, and abjuring that servile imitation of Petrarch, which had prevailed among the Italians; but his verse is seldom animated, and frequently very prosaic. He felt and admired the sublimity of Pindar; and vainly wished to soar after the Theban eagle: but the swan *of Savona, '*roco augel palustre*,' was a bird of heavy wing, and could not rise above the marshes of Italy.

The canzoni of Alessandro Guidi, to whose excellence the editor has paid a just tribute of praise, stand unrivalled for animation and energetic harmony. Whenever he alludes to the former glories or virtues of Rome, a subject to which his mind perpetually recurred, the spirit of the ancient mistress of the world seems to animate his

* '——— di Dirce al fonte
Spensi primier la sete,
Che già Savona mia lunga sostenne;
E di Parnaso al monte
Sulle plaggie segrete
Di lei Cigno novel sciolsi le penne.'

Chiabrera, Canz. lug. 15.

verse, and breathe into his writings a strain of exalted sublimity, which the poets of old Rome in her golden days were never perhaps able to reach. We could cite with pleasure many pages from this magnificent writer; but a few lines from the first of his odes, in Mr. Mathias's selection, will be sufficient to excite those, who are unacquainted with his poetry, to read and study it.

'Rammenta pur le trionfali rote,
I tanti tuoi, che s' appressaro a i Numi
Per invitti costumi,
Che tal sembianza in vano
Cercasi in grembo allo splendor Romano.
Ardea su l'alma a i chiari duci tuoi
Sdegno regale e bellicoso ardire,
E quel fatal desire
Di sempre incatenar duci ed eroi;
E così i figli suoi
Vide del tuo Signor la stirpe altera
Tanto infiammarsi alla stagion guerriera;
Ed ebbe sempre o il forte Scipio a lato,
O il buon Fabrizio armato,
Nè in van dielle il destino
I nomi grandi del valor Latino.
Tracia sel sa, ch' oltre all'angusti foci
Pallida e fugitiva in Asia corse;
Quando sopra se scorse
Con la grand' ira i cavalier feroci,
O qual orride voci
Mandò Bizanzio! a lui tremò la mente.'—*vol.* 3 *p.* 13.

We think the selection of Mr. Mathias has done justice to this excellent poet: one valuable ode to Cardinal Albano is however omitted; which if the editor had seen, we think he would have inserted. It is not published with the rest of his *canzoni*, but may be found at the head of his *Endimione*, in the 36th vol. of the Parnaso Italiano. Its commencement is very spirited.

'Io, mercè de le figlie alme di Giove,
Non d' armento o di gregge
Son ne' campi d' Arcadia umil custode:
Cultor son io de l' altrui bella lode,
Che levo in alto co' sonori versi;
Ed ho cento destrieri
Su la riva d' Alfeo
Tutti d' eterne penne armati il dorso,
Che certo varcherian l' immenso corso,
Che fan per l' alta mole
I cavalli del sole.'

Guidi was born about thirteen years after the death of Chiabrera, and a few months after the execution of King Charles, whose murderers his verse has execrated. With ardent ambition, and a confidence in his own talents, which seems to have been very offensive to his countrymen, he deserted the beaten path of Petrarch, and Pindar was the only model he condescended to admire; φαεινὸν ἄστρον ἐρημοῦ δι' αἰθέρος. He felt, indeed, that the minute rules of the *canzone*, as established by Petrarch, and servilely adhered to by his followers, were pedantic restrictions, which shackled the subject, and rendered the harmony weak and monotonous. The close imitators of Petrarch thought it expedient not only to use his metre, but even the arrangement, and sometimes the incipient words of his sentences, though their subject might be completely different. By his system, no couplet in one stanza was allowed to rhyme with one in another, however distant, though the stanzas might be ten in number, and each consisting of twenty lines. All such unmeaning restrictions of rhyme, all the subdivisions of the stanza into *Piedi* and *Sirima*, *Fronte* and *Volte* (which the reader, who wishes to understand minutely, may find at length

in Quadrio), were at once rejected. He considered also, that a perpetual recurrence of rhymes was not so necessary, as an artful disposition of them, which might be sufficient to gratify the ear, without shackling or embarrassing the subject; and his harmony was so perfect that, although many blank lines occur in his odes, as in the Lycidas of Milton, the ear is never offended by them No bard has ever struck the Pindaric lyre with such boldness and success; but few have ventured to imitate him. The Italian critics, indeed, acknowledge his merit; but warn other writers to decline a career, in which, without the extraordinary genius of Guidi, they would inevitably fail. Perhaps, however, the narrow rules of the Petrarchesque ode have produced more dull poetry, than any license of metre could have done; his imitators were forced to attend so much to the formal part of their composition, that the matter of their verse became a secondary consideration. Tiraboschi states, that the presumptuous manner in which Guidi spoke of himself, and the uncomeliness of his person, rendered him very unpopular, and contributed to prevent his style being imitated. His temper was irritable; and he died at last in a fit produced by ill-humour at errors of the press in his version of the homilies. He seldom condescended to imitate any Italian writer; but the following lines are closely copied from Molza:

'Sorgere in ogni etate
Fuor da queste ruine
Qualche spirto real sempre si scorse,
Che la fama del Tebro alto soccorse.'—*Guidi.*

'Che sempre alcun real spirto è giunto
Fuor di queste onorate alte ruine
A ristorarle d' ogni colpo ingiusto.'—*Molza.*

Very different in style to the bold flights of Guidi, but little inferior in poetical beauty, is the pathetic eloquence of Celio Magno, a Venetian writer of the sixteenth century. The flow of his verse is so natural, tender, and interesting, that his pathetic odes have never been equalled; and (as Rubbi observes) he proved to Italy, that love was not indispensably necessary to the production of beautiful poetry; a truth which, however, Sannazaro had begun to suspect, when he wrote

> 'Che senza dir degli occhi, o del bel velo,
> O di lei che mi fugge,
> Si può con altra gloria andar in cielo.'

Indeed, Sannazaro sometimes ventured to write in a better manner; and his 'Incliti spirti, a cui fortuna arride,' is far superior to his trivial odes in this selection. The Editor has not done justice to the superior merit of Celio Magno, from whose canzoni he has printed only two; on the Deity, and the Death of his father. They are both excellent: the former is a masterly composition, and as its subject is the most sublime, its poetry is the most elevated. He attempted an ode of exultation for the victory of Lepanto; but the theme did not suit his genius, and it is not at all comparable to the sublime Spanish ode of Fernando de Herrera upon the same subject. His pathetic poetry, however, is exquisite; and the editor should have printed the odes on his return from banishment, and on the approach of his death. The latter would have been particularly interesting to English readers, as they would have discovered in that, and a few other passages by the same author, the source of some of the most striking beauties in Gray's celebrated elegy. We shall transcribe a few passages, in which the coincidence appears to be most remarkable:

'Ne per lor mai più luce
Febo, o scopre per lor più Cintia i rai.'
Celio Magno, Canz. 11.

'The breezy call of incense breathing morn,
No more shall rouse them from their lowly bed.'—*Gray.*

'O d' ogni uman sudor meta infelice,
Da cui torcer non lice
Pur orma, ne sperar pietade alcuna!
Che val, perch' altri sia chiaro e felice
Di gloria d'avi, o d' oro in arca ascoso,
E d'ogni ben giojoso
Che natura può dar larga e fortuna,
Se tutto e falso ben sotto la luna,
E la vita sparisce a lampo eguale
Che subito dal cielo esca e s' asconda.'—*C. Magno*, 11.

'Let not ambition, &c. down to
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.'—*Gray.*

'In bel sepolcro, tal non visto avanti
Con larghe esequie di lamenti e doglia
Poser la sua terrena esangue scorza.
Ecco il ciel risonar di chiara tromba!
Ecco sovra la tomba
La Fama in aria!'—*C. Magno*, 10.

'If memory o'er their tombs,' &c.—*Gray.*

'Ma (qual in parte ignota
Ben ricca gemma altrui cela il suo pregio.
O fior, ch' alta virtù ha in se riposta)
Visse in sen di castità nascosta;
In sua virtute e' n Dio contento visse
Lunge dal visco mondan, che l' alma intrica.'—*C. Magno*, 6.

'Full many a gem, &c. and
Far from the maddening crowds,' &c.—*Gray.*

'Una (one of the Muses) di scolpir si sforza
Nel duro marmo, e porvi ad altrui voglia
Breve detto, che 'l nome e i merti accoglia.
And ——— il nome e i pregi
Render palesi in questo marmo adorno.'—*C. Magno*, 10.

'Some frail memorial,' & the four next lines.—*Gray.*

'Lasso me, che quest' alma e dolce luce,
Questo bel ciel, quest' aere onde respiro,

Lasciar convegno; e miro
Fornito il corso di mia vita omai,
E l' esalar d'un sol breve sospiro
A languid' occhi eterna notte adduce.'—*C. Magno*, 11.

'For who to dumb forgetfulness,' &c.—*Gray*.

'Da miei più cari e fidi
Amor cortese guidi
Al marmo in ch' io sarò tosto sepolto,
E la pietà, che in lor mai sempre vidi,
Qualche lagrime doni a mia sventura.'—*C. Magno*, 11.

'On some fond breast,' &c.—*Gray*.

The leading thoughts of the epitaph will be found in the following lines;

'Prestin le Muse ancor benigno e pio
Officio al cener mio,
E su la tomba il mio nome si scriva;
Acciò, se 'l tacerà d' altro onor casso
La Fama, almen ne parli il muto sasso.
* * * * *
Benchè parco bramar fu 'l mio tesoro
E l' alma in se di liberta sol vaga,
E d' onest' ozio più che d' altro ardente,
Resa talor la mente
Quasi per furto infra le Muse paga,
Che de prim' anni miei dolci nodrici
Fur poi conforto a mei giorni infelici.
* * * * *
Ahi, ch' anzi pur, Signor, pregar dovrei
Per le mie gravi colpe al varco estremo,
Dove pavento e tremo
Da la giust' ira tua, mentre a lor guardo.'—*C. Magno*, 11.

The imitations of Dante and Petrarch, in Gray's elegy, have been noted; but we believe that beautiful passage, which he has translated from Petrarch in his Bard, has not been observed. See the 2nd stanza of the *canzoni*, which commences *Standomi un giorno*. 'Fair laughs the

morn,' &c. —Gray. The sixth stanza of his elegy is also translated from the third book of Lucretius, 'At jam non domus,' &c. Considering how much he was indebted to the Italian poets, he seems to have treated them ungenerously in his ode on the Progress of Poetry, where he might have bestowed some praise on those, who sung even after 'Latium had her lofty spirit lost.' Pignotti has, however, since avenged the cause of Italy by retaliation, and has stolen as much from Gray, as Gray did from the Italians.

Having given the palm for animation to Guidi, and for tenderness to Celio Magno, we cannot withhold our commendations from the serious and dignified strength of Filicaja, or the simple elegance and Horatian neatness of Testi. The sublimity of Filicaja is not so much derived from Pindar, as from the sacred writings. Probably the success with which Herrera diffused the spirit of Isaiah into his writings, as well as the piety of his own mind, directed the thoughts of Filicaja to that fountain of poetical beauty. His ode on the victory gained by the Poles and Imperialists over the Turks, bears a strong resemblance to that of Herrera on the battle of Lepanto. In his address to the Deity, he says,

> 'Tolsi all' Ebrea faretra
> L' auree quadrella.'

And in another canzone,

> '——— all' Idumea faretra
> Le saette involai,
> Ond' io dell' Asia il fier Pithon piagai.'

The odes selected by Mr. Mathias from Filicaja have all considerable merit; but the first is such an encomium on the profligate and contemptible Christina, that we wish

it had been omitted: many others might have been chosen of equal poetical beauty. That on his departure from Florence, is excellent and truly original, although he seems to have held in view the lines of Celio Magno, which commence *Rimanetevi in pace.* As a specimen of Filicaja's poetry, we will quote some lines from his *canzone sopra l'assedia di Vienna,* which is not printed in these volumes:

'A' tuoi santi decreti
Pien di timore e d' umiltà m' inchino.
Vinca, se così vuoi,
Vinca lo Scita; e 'l glorioso sangue
Versi l' Europa esangue
Da ben mille ferite. I voler tuoi
Legge son fermi a noi;
Tu sol se' buono e giusto; e giusta e buona
Quell' opra è sol, che al tuo voler consuona.
Ma sarà mai, ch' io veggia
Fender barbaro aratro all' Austria il seno?
E pascolar la greggia
Ove or sorgon cittadi, e senza tema
Starsi gli Arabi armenti in riva al Reno?
Fia, che dell' Istro la famosa reggia
D' ostile incendio avvampi?
E, dove siede or Vienna, abiti l' Eco
In solitario speco,
Le cui deserte arene orma non stampi?'

The numerous odes of Testi are uniformly good; his thoughts are natural and pleasing, his expression neat and chaste. He says of himself that he handled the lyre of Pindar, as well as of Horace;

'——— L' eburnea lira
Che a l' Aufid' ora, ed or a Dirce in riva,
Trattar Clio m' insegnò con music' arte:'

but, though his vein has little resemblance to that of the

Theban bard, he may truly be called the second Horace of Italy: their genius, their turn of mind, and the character of their lyric poetry are very similar. The taste of Testi was pure and almost faultless: his attempts at sublimity, like those of Horace, steered a midway course; and, conscious of his inability to soar into the loftiest regions of poetry, he seems like his pattern to have mistrusted the waxen wings of Dædalus. His style is very uniform; and, though amongst his numerous *canzoni* there are many equal, if not preferable, to those chosen by Mr. Mathias, we object to no one of them, excepting *Di Troja al domator*, which is one of his worst compositions. We will quote a few lines from the first book of his odes, as an example of his elegant Horatian manner

'Beato è quel, che in libertà sicura
Povero, ma contento, i giorni mena;
E che fuor di speranze e fuor di pena
Pompe non cerca, e dignità non cura.
Pago di se medesmo e di sua sorte
Ei di nemica man non teme offesa;
Senza ch'armate schiere in sua diffesa
Stian de l'albergo a custodir le porte.
Innocente di cor, di colpe scarco,
E non impallidisce e non paventa,
Se tuona Giove, e se saette avventa
Del giusto ciel l'inevitabil arco.'

The following spirited address to Venice is a fair example of his most elevated verse.

'O reina del mar, reliquia grande
De la Latina libertade, ascolta
Le voci del mio cor! Forse una volta
Famose esser potrian, e memorande
Corran l'insegne tue dal Moro al Truce
Sempre vittoriose, e per tua spada
Ogni barbara turba estinta cada,
Che osi de' regni tuoi turba la pace.'

Having spoken at length of the four Italian bards, whose poetry, though very different, has given us most pleasure, we will not detain the reader with particular observations on the other writers, whose works have found a place in this selection. Many of the canzoni in the first volume are very dull, and might have been well omitted. We should have been contented with fewer specimens from Ariosto, Tasso, Bembo, Sannazaro, and Paterno. Most of their *canzoni* (as well as those selected from Lorenzo de Medici, Politiano, and Colonna) are tediously harmonious, and run on through a maze of mellifluous diction without force or spirit, and almost without a subject. From the second volume we could have spared many of Chiabrera's odes. Their places might easily have been filled by better poetry from other authors, some of whom are unnoticed, some not sufficiently distinguished, in this selection. From the poetry of Gabriele Fiamma, a Venetian writer of the sixteenth century, Mr. Mathias has selected two sonnets, but he has omitted a very fine ode, the subject of which is a beatific vision, like the Deus of Celio Magno. It has few equals in Italian sacred poetry. Amongst many others, which we could point out, the Petrarchesque *canzone* of Zappi on Louis the 14th, deserves notice; it is little, if at all, inferior to its beautiful model, 'Standomi un giorno solo a la finestra,' Petrarch, 2. 3. We observe a *canzone* written by Bedori on the model of the second of Petrarch's *sorelle*, of which the last lines are not printed as we have been accustomed to read them. We are ignorant, whether these variations spring from the editor, or from Bedori himself. His imitation of the third *sorella* has been more esteemed than this *canzone*. He was a Bolognese,

and died in 1718. His name is altogether omitted in the chronological index. Mr. Mathias has left a blank in the column of births in the index to the name of Lodovico Paterno; we imagine that he has not seen his Nuovo Petrarca, where in the Trionfo d' amore the time of his birth is stated with curious minuteness.

> 'Dal dì che nacqui, (o fossi allhor io spento)
> Il duodecimo dì, sul mezo giorno,
> Con trenta tre nel mille e cinquecento
> Duo mesi inanzi Aprile.'—p. 521.

This work was written on the model of Petrarch 'In vita e morte di M. Mirtia,' and was published in 1560. Mr. Mathias's specimens are taken from his other works, which are little (if at all) preferable to this. His poetry gained him considerable reputation amongst his contemporaries.

Seven odes by Menzini are printed in the second volume. He was a follower of Chiabrera, whose insipidity he inherited. His odes are deficient in spirit and animation: he copied happily the terse, sententious manner of Pindar, but was unequal to his higher flights. The third ode of his first book, 'E ver che l' uomo ha sua milizia in terra,' is a most extraordinary imitation of Pindar's style, though no expression is directly borrowed from him. We should have preferred it to many that Mr. Mathias has printed. The two first odes by Frugoni are also inferior to his 'Orana espugnata,' which might have filled their place.

Without entering into further particulars, we shall now dismiss the canzoni, and proceed to the consideration of the sonnets, which fill the larger part of the third volume.

Of the selection from Petrarch, we have said nothing,

because he is in the hands of every reader of Italian poetry. These volumes contain four of his canzoni, one sestina, and ten of his sonnets. If the editor intends them as the cream of Petrarch, we certainly differ from him. If (as we understand from the advertisement) they are meant as a supplement to a selection from Petrarch, which he had before published, they are improperly placed in this work.

Bettinelli, in an interesting treatise which he has written upon sonnets, after stating the decided superiority of Petrarch, gives the preference to that which commences 'Levommi il mio pensier;' though he has pointed out seven trifling faults in it, of which two are grammatical liberties. In reviewing the different sonneteers who have flourished in Italy (with the exclusion of all living authors) he divides those, whom he considers most excellent into two classes, the one containing twelve, and the other twenty-four. He excludes also Filicaja, Lorenzini, Zappi, Pastorini, and others, observing that they are 'Benchè ricchi di pensier nuovi e vivaci, d'ingegnose fantasie, di forza, di tessitura, di sonorità, e d'altre doti, ma del perfetto scriver digiuni poetico insieme e Italico.' It is remarkable, that of the thirty-six primary authors, according to Bettinelli, four of the first class and eleven of the second are altogether unnoticed by Mr. Mathias; and that only five of Bettinelli's chosen sonnets appear amongst 211, which have found a place in this publication. We do not pretend to agree exactly with the decisions of Bettinelli; but differing from him in a few respects, we do it with the deference due to his well-approved reputation as a critic; especially as his own sonnets are

so valuable, that his opinion upon those of other poets deserves the greatest attention. The best sonneteer, if he judges with impartiality, must necessarily be the best selector of sonnets. We believe Bettinelli is still living, and on that account his compositions would be excluded from the selection of Mr. Mathias, who states in his preface that it is made from the Lirici passati; but we think it fit to quote one of them, which by its excellence will give greater weight to his opinion upon this subject. He was an avowed enemy to the empty harmony which has been the pride of many Italian versificators: in his own strong expressions, 'Il ciel n'ajuti da tanta noja e fastidio di versi, magri di cose, e ricchi di bagatelle canore.' His sonnets have so much substantial merit, that it is very difficult to give a decided preference to any one: and we are aware, that there are many equal (perhaps, in the opinion of some, superior) to that we have selected.

'SOPRA VENEZIA.

'Spiegato il crudo sanguinoso artiglio,
Delle grand' ale con terribil rombo
L'Unico sparvier della vendetta figlio
Cadea dall' Alpe in su l'Italia a piombo.
Da monte e pian, qual trepido colombo,
Fuggia davanti a lui senza consiglio
D'incendi e stragi all' orrido rimbombo
L'abitator in disperato esiglio.
Ma d'accorti Alcion candido stuolo
Cercando all' onde in seno albergo fido
Stende dall' arse patrie a gara il volo;
Di libertà, di valor vero al grido,
Fra città spente e regni intatto e solo
Dopo mill' anni e più cresce il bel nido.'

Opere di Bettinelli, Vol. 18, *p.* 143.

Trusting that our readers will have formed no mean opinion of the talents and taste of the writer we have now quoted, we shall proceed with his scheme for a selection of sonnets, divided into two classes, according to their degrees of merit. He admits, that they border so closely on each other, that it is very difficult to form a decision; and, having stated his own opinion, he adds, 'Tu puoi far nuova scelta e saprottene grado io 'l primo, e loderò a cielo i migliori. Ma studiati d' esser parco tu pure, ed anzi avaro, e ben sai perchè.' In Bettinelli's scheme, I have marked thus * the sonnets which are in Mr. Mathias's book; and thus ‡ the poets from whom he has given some other specimen. The rest are wholly unnoticed by him. Bettinelli cites only the first line of each sonnet.

FIRST CLASS.

‡ *Petrarca.* Levommi il mio pensier in parte, ov' era.
* *Costanzo.* Quella cetra gentil, che in su la riva.
Next to this the following two equal in merit.
* Cigni felici, &c. *And,* Odo sin qui, &c.
Coppetta. Perchè sacrar non posso altari e tempi.
Nearly equal to this, Porta il buon villanel, &c.
‡ *Bembo.* Anime, tra cui spazia or la grand' ombra.
‡ *Casa.* Cura, che di timor ti nutri e cresci.
* *Castiglione.* Superbi colli e voi sacre ruine.
Vaccari. Io giuro per l' eterne alte faville.
‡ *Manfredi.* Non templi od archi, e non figure o segni.
He praises also, L' Augusto ponte, *and six others in the Paris selection.*
* *Lazzarini.* Se da te apprese, Amore, e non altronde.
He adds, Sino a sei ponno citarsi tra gli eccellenti di questo gran maestro di stile.
Ghedini. L' amico spirto, che al partir suo ratto.
He praises also, Sei tu pur. Poichè al tronco fatal.
And Con che sottil lavoro.

‡	*Rossi.*	Io nol vedrò, poichè il cangiato aspetto.
	Cassiani.	Diè un alto strido, gittò i fiori, e volta.

SECOND CLASS.

‡	*Rainieri.*	Quel che appena fanciul torse con mano.
	Thiene.	Questi palagi e queste logge or colte.
‡	*Molza.*	Io pur doveva il mio bel sole io stesso.
‡	*Tansillo.*	Qual uom che trasse il grave remo e spinse.
*	*Rota.*	Questa scolpita in oro amica fede.
‡	*Caro.*	Ecco, signor, che al tuo chiamar mi volgo.
‡	*Guidiccioni.*	Viva fiamma di Marte, onor de tuoi.
	Marmitta.	Coprasi pur d'armati legni il mare.
‡	*Tasso.*	Stiglian, quel canto, onde ad Orfeo simile
‡	*Celio Magno.*	Ecco subito lampo, ecco diserra.
	Dall' Uva.	In cui Cipro confide, in cui più spera.
‡	*Marini.*	Ove ch' io vada, ove ch' io stia talora.
*	*Guidi.*	Eran le Dee del mar liete e gioconde.
	Bassani.	O Italia, o Roma, se il valore antico.
‡	*Baruffaldi.*	Ben veggo il marmo, il simolacro, e l' urna.
	A. Fabri.	Se la tromba cui parmi udir sovente.
	G.P.Zanotti.	E crollar le gran torri e le colonne.
	Fr. Zanotti.	Non perchè schiere avverse urti e confonda.
‡	*Frugoni.*	Quando il gran Scipion dall' ingrata terra.
	Barbieri.	Certo allor quando la Nettunia Dea.
‡	*Algarotti.*	Spirto felice, onde pur è che questa.
	D. Fabri.	Ben può l' astro maggior e la sorella.
	Salandri.	Vieni aspettata in ciel, vieni gran Dea.
	Durante.	Ben può Appennin l' Alpestre dorsa opporme.

It is almost incredible that so many good authors, and so many capital sonnets, should have entirely escaped the observation of Mr. Mathias; and that only *five* of them should have found a place in his *numerous* selection. We will quote at length, as specimens of the two classes, the sonnets of Coppetta and Benedetto dall' Uva, two poets of the sixteenth century, who have been overlooked by Mr. Mathias.

Coppetta.

'Perchè sacrar non posso altari e tempi,
Alato veglio, all' opre tue sì grande?
Tu già le forze in quel bel viso spandi,
Che fè di noi sì dolorosi scempi.
Tu della mia vendetta i voti adempi,
L' alterezza e l' orgoglio a terra mandi,
Tu solo sforzi amore, e gli commandi,
Che disciolga i miei lacci indegni ed empi.
Tu quello or puoi, che la ragion non valse,
Non amico ricordo, arte, e consiglio.
Non giusto sdegno d' infinite offese.
Tu l' alma acqueti che tant' arse ed alse,
La quale or tolta dal mortal periglio
Teco alza il volo a più leggiadre imprese.'

Francesco Beccuti, detto il Coppetta, died in 1553. His poetry is printed in 4to., with copious notes by Cavalluci. Ven. 1751.

Dall' Uva.

'In cui Cipro confida, in cui più spera,
Dopo tante lussurie ed error tanti?
Ne suoi (dice il Signor) lascivi amanti,
Ne le sue ninfe, o nella Dea primiera?
Ecco viene il mio giorno, e de la fiera
Strage fin qui dal mar s' udranno i pianti,
E catenati al duro Scita avanti
Andranno uomini e donne in lunga schiera.
Chi comprò non s' allegri, e chi vendeo
Non se ne dolga assai; ch' una egual sorte,
Come è pari il fallir, tutti comprende.
Schermi di mura e fossa indarno feo
Famagosta sul mar, che Dio le porte
E le sue torri, più che 'l Trace, offende.'

This sonnet, which has great beauty and strength of expression, was written in 1571, during the siege of

Famagusta; and is interesting, when we recollect how truly it was prophetic. The depravity of Cyprus is strongly expressed by Petrarch also.

> 'Quest' è la terra, che cotanto piacque
> A Venere; e 'n quel tempo a lei fu sacra,
> Che 'l ver nascoso e sconosciuto giacque;
> Ed anco è di valor si nuda e macra,
> Tanto ritien del suo primo esser vile,
> Che par dolce a' cattivi, ed a' buoni acra.'
>
> *Trionf. d' Am.*

When Cyprus had fallen, and not till then, the Christian arms prevailed. Famagusta capitulated at last, to avoid the fate of Nikosia, where Mustafa had massacred 14,000 inhabitants in the preceding year; but a few days after the capitulation, her brave governor was flayed alive by the perfidious Turks. His fate was speedily avenged by the ever-memorable victory of Lepanto; but Cyprus remained the victim of Turkish cruelty.

> 'Vincemmo, è ver; ma l' Idumee catene
> Cipro non ruppe unquanco.' *Filicaja, C.* 2.

Were we called upon to give a decided preference to any one sonnet in the Italian language, we should certainly be inclined to say, that the sonnet of Giovambatista Pastorini, a Genoese poet, (which is improperly attributed by Mr. Mathias to Gaetana Passarini) commencing 'Genova mia, se con asciuto ciglio,' (*Mathias, Vol.* 3. *p.* 331.) is superior to any in Petrarch. We imagine it was written, after the bombardment of Genoa, by Lewis the Fourteenth, in 1684. Mr. Mathias is mistaken in saying that Passarini died in 1714. She was living in 1786, when Bergalli published her 'Rima-

trici d'ogni secolo.' Her works, we believe, have never been collected, but are scattered in different *scelte* and in the *Rime degli Arcadi*. We have seen little more than twenty of her sonnets and anacreontic odes; but no specimen of her poetry has been in fact given by Mr. Mathias. The sonnet addressed to Prince Eugene, 'Signor, che nella destra,' and several of her others, have considerable merit.

We should say also, that the 'Tempestose, sonanti, e torbid' onde' of Galeazzo di Tarsia, (*Mathias, Vol.* 3. *p.* 269.) is very excellent; and we should offer the following sonnet, by Salandri, as an exquisite model, and prefer it much to that which Bettinelli has cited from him. It is addressed to a young bride, and appears to us beautiful and faultless.

'Più che leggiadra sei, più che vezzosa!
Serba intatta la fede al tuo diletto!
Vivi di tua belta, vivi gelosa
Del bel candore, che non ha difetto!
Ogni alito di molle insidiosa
Aura, che spiri da caduco obietto,
Può la dolce scemar vampa amorosa,
Che per gli occhi bevesti, e nutri in petto.
Sgorga dal cavo sen di balza Alpina
Limpido il fonte, nel cui vivo umore
Il sole per vaghezza i raggi affina;
Ma se del picciol solco or erba or fiore
Folleggiando a lambir per via declina,
A poco a poco impoverisce e muore.'

Poesie di P. Salandri, p. 247.

Many of the sonnets printed by Mr. Mathias are unintelligible to the reader, from the deficiency of proper titles and annotations. By a note to the line, 'Marmi, che 'l più bel Tosco in voi chiudete,' the

reader is informed that this Tuscan was Petrarch; but in the next page, 'Il nobil cigno Che in Adria misse le sue eterne penne,' which alludes to Bembo, is left without explanation; yet we can hardly think that the editor reckoned the tomb of Petrarch more obscure than the abode of Bembo. The sonnet by Metastasio, which commences, 'Leggiadra Rosa, le cui pure foglie' loses much of its beauty from being printed without its title. It was addressed to a lady called Rosa, who was about to take the veil. The custom of printing sonnets and *canzoni* without notes or titles has prevailed unfortunately too much in Italy, and renders it difficult for one, whose memory cannot command the history of Europe, and the biography of Germany and Italy, to seize readily their meaning, and taste all their beauties; but it is the duty of an editor to make his selection easily intelligible to the reader, and never to publish what he may not understand, without noticing it. Ignazio Gajone, in his annotations to Padre Ceva's 'Scelta di canzoni,' was not ashamed (though an Italian) to state, that there were passages which he could not perfectly comprehend in those which he most admired.

Few Italian poets have acquired greater celebrity in England than Guarini, the author of 'Il Pastor Fido,' which has gone through several editions in this country; but his name does not appear in these volumes. We imagine the editor was unacquainted with his sonnets, which are not to be found in the Parnaso Italiano. Their style is very good, and they would have been more interesting than the productions of many unknown authors. It will be sufficient for us to quote one of them.

'Segua d'incerto ben fallace speme,
E per pace interrotta eterna guerra,
Chi (fatto idol celeste uom pur di terra)
Vende la libertate e l' alma insieme!
Tenti le vie più vaste e più supreme
Di falso onor, che i suoi seguaci atterra,
Novo Fetonte; e, mentre suda ed erra,
Serbi se stesso a le miserie estreme!
Ch' io per me, pur che spiri entro 'l mio core
Là su 'l gran fiume, ove stillò l' elettro,
Febo il suo canto, e le sue gioie Amore,
Co'l più famoso e fortunato scettro,
Che dal orto a l' occaso il mondo adore,
Non cangerei questo mio rozzo plettro.'

The name of Staccoli, a sonnetteer of the fifteenth century, appears in the chronological index of the authors *contained in these volumes;* but none of his poetry is to be found in them. He was an imitator of Petrarch, and much esteemed; a specimen of his sonnets should have been inserted. Several of those from Lorenzo di Medici are very indifferent. If the editor had been acquainted with the Bergamo edition of his works, he might easily have made a more favourable selection.

We are not satisfied with the choice from Costanzo, Casa, or indeed any writer of sonnets in this volume. We think that many have been omitted superior to those which are chosen from the same author: and we think that, in the numerous flock of Italian sonneteers, many writers of merit have been wholly overlooked: but the taste of mankind varies so much upon this subject, that we will not enter into further particulars. We were certainly tempted to smile, when we saw that Mr. Mathias has selected a single sonnet, of little merit,

from Frugoni. He was probably unacquainted with his works, and picked this out of some *scelta*. Frugoni is a very estimable writer, and the Lucca edition of his poetry consists of fifteen octavo volumes, of which a small portion is occupied by upwards of 1,000 sonnets. Many of them were officiously published after his death, and their merit is various. We have already stated which of them Bettinelli preferred; and we will quote another as a specimen less injurious to him, than the sonnet printed in this work.

'O d' immatura ancor bellezza adorno,
Figlio, che schiudi fra purpuree fasce
L' inesperte pupille, e il primo giorno
Piangi del cieco esiglio, in cui si nasce;
La bella madre non cercar d' intorno;
La madre, oimè! che tra le dure ambasce
T' abbandonò per non più far ritorno
Di là, dove di luce aurea si pasce.
Ah! tu nol sai; forse ver te pietosa
Nud' alma e santa, ed' ogni duol digiuna,
E' qui presente, e al fianco tuo si posa.
Forse custode de la dolce cuna
Si la difende, che guatar non l'osa
Il bieco ciglio de la rea fortuna.'

Mr. Mathias has also chosen an indifferent sonnet by Redi, commencing 'Donne gentili divote d'amore,' which is a faulty verse, the accent being on the seventh syllable, while the sixth is unaccented. Such lines are indeed occasionally found, as 'Donne che avete intelleto d'amore' in Dante, and 'Ella a coprir la malizia amorosa' in Chiabrera's Guerre de' Goti, where the elision, however, renders them less offensive; and Cesarotti has injudiciously admitted them in his excellent

translation of Ossian: but these are great blemishes, and if Pindar was right, that ἀρχόμενους ἔργου πρόσωπον χρὴ θέμεν τηλαυγές, a short sonnet, with such a commencement and no conspicuous beauty, should have been certainly excluded. We will not detain the reader with any further observations on these volumes, but will close our remarks with a beautiful sonnet from Tasso, which we think the editor should have printed.

'Io veggio in cielo scintillar le stelle
Oltre l' usato, e lampeggiar tremanti;
Come negli occhi de cortesi amanti
Noi rimiriam talor vive facelle.
Aman forse la suso, o pur son elle
Pietose a' nostri affanni, a' nostri pianti:
Mentre scorgon l' insidie e i passi erranti
Là dove altri d' amor goda e favelle.
Cortese lumi, se Leandro in mare,
O traviato peregrin foss' io,
Non mi sarete di soccorso avare.
Così vi faccia il sol più belle e chiare,
Siete nel dubbio corso al desir mio
Fide mie duci, e scorte amate e care.'

Upon the whole, we give Mr. Mathias much credit for having acquired a greater facility in the Italian language, than is usual for Englishmen who have never visited Italy, and we very much admire his own *canzone;* but we regret, that he completed this work too hastily, without having previously acquired sufficient knowledge of Italian literature. It is a wide field, and difficult for any, but Italians, to traverse. He has been more successful in the choice of canzoni, than of sonnets. We learn, that he has advertised a selection of lighter lyric poetry, which we hope will be more perfect, and we shall hail it with pleasure. We trust that he will not be offended, if we

take the liberty of recommending to him to be less pastoral in his vignettes and preface; and rather to address the public, than the shepherds of the Roman Arcadia. We always thought this fiction puerile and undignified, even for Italians. His exertions in this branch of literature, which has been too much neglected in Great Britain, may become very valuable to the public. A perfect selection would be extremely desireable; but one incompletely made is hurtful. The uninformed reader relies on the selector, and, thinking that he sees the flower of Italian poetry, is contented to look no further. We are far from intending to discourage the editor, whose undertaking we think very meritorious; but wish to stimulate him to render his work less imperfect. We hope it may reach a second edition, and then perhaps our observations (however slight or superficial) may be of some assistance to him; and if we shall have pointed out any poetry, concerning which his judgment may coincide with ours, we trust he will insert it. We should prefer seeing the lighter lyric poetry published as an additional volume, and not a separate work; for no distinctive line can be accurately drawn. The *canzone*, the *ode Toscana*, and the *canzonetta*, have been blended together by infinite variations: the metre of the latter has been adapted to the highest subjects; and the *versi sdruccioli*, which more properly belong to it, occur in the *canzoni* of those who followed the Greek school.

An Inquiry into the Principles of Harmony in Language, and of the Mechanism of Verse, Modern and Ancient. By WILLIAM MITFORD, Esquire. 8vo. 1804.

1805.

THIS interesting treatise, which was first published anonymously, has been greatly enlarged, and reprinted with the name of its learned author. Mr. Mitford has stated in his dedication, perhaps somewhat too boastfully, that more book-learning, acquaintance with living tongues, leisure, and industry, may probably not soon meet together in another person. We give him full credit for his learning; but the subject, as he has handled it, did not necessarily demand any extraordinary extent of reading. It did, however, require nice powers of discrimination, and those he appears to possess; it also required a very wide acquaintance with living languages, in which, we suspect him to be somewhat deficient; for it does not appear that he is acquainted with any but French, Italian, and the sister tongue of Spain. The work, however, is unquestionably valuable; though there are many points upon which we are compelled to differ from the author; and we are not without hopes, that upon reconsideration, he may assent to some of our statements; and that we may suggest to him some new and curious subjects of investigation, which

we have not sufficient learning, leisure, or industry, to explore thoroughly. The most important points of difference between us, relate to the number and sounds of vowels, and the mechanism of Latin verse, which, according to Mr. Mitford, is regulated solely by certain dispositions of quantities; whereas, in opposition both to that statement and to the established creed of modern writers, we are humbly of opinion that, in various instances, it was regulated by accent also. This point is of some importance; because, if our opinion be not ill founded, it will appear, that many modern verses, which have been esteemed good and classical metre, are fundamentally faulty. We have not leisure to pursue these observations to their utmost extent: we shall deem it sufficient, if we can establish, that some accentual rules were observed; and we shall leave for the future investigation of those who have more industry and learning, to inquire into the truth of other rules, which we suspect to have existed; and to trace that which we suspect also, but of which the proofs are probably lost with the vulgar poetry of the dark ages, namely, the gradual progress by which accent superseded quantity in European metre.

The introductory chapter of Mr. Mitford's book, contains several definitions, which will be useful and even necessary to those who are inclined to consider the principles of harmony in language, and the mechanism of verse. We shall quote the most important, without commenting on them.

'Of the articulated sounds of which language is composed, the smallest integral or portion which can exist as whole by itself, is what we call a syllable. Of the

unarticulated sounds, which constitute music, the smallest integral is what we call a note. Among the properties of syllables, then, we must seek the principles of the harmony of language, as those of the harmony of music among its notes. A musical note exists only in its specific tone. By tone, we mean sound as it is characterized, not by any varieties of articulation, but by those indicated by the terms loud, soft, high, low, sharp, flat, shrill, deep. Among our grammarians, instead of the word tone, derived from the Greek, the word accent, derived from the Latin, is in common use. Syllable exists by articulation; with which tone or accent, is necessarily co-existent, but not a specific tone. Any among the numerous varieties of tone, may co-exist with any among the innumerable varieties of syllable. Varying tones or accents, in pleasing succession, equally in music and in language, constitute melody. The time employed in pronouncing a syllable, compared with the time employed in pronouncing other syllables, at the same rate of delivery, is called in grammatical phrase, the quantity of the syllable. The same thing, in speaking of a musical note, is called simply the time. The term measure, derived from the Latin, or metre, as we often call it, from the Greek, means measure of time, or quantity, as it is indicated by one note, or combination of notes in music, compared with other notes or combination of notes, and by one syllable or by a combination of syllables in speech, compared with other syllables or combinations of syllables,' p. 4.

'Harmony in language, is the result of a happy combination of measure and melody.' p. 9.

Having explained himself thus far with precision, Mr. Mitford proceeds, in the second section, to survey the sounds of the English language, and in a later part of the work, those of the Greek and Latin. In this, we find material cause to differ from him: we think he has confounded some sounds, and overlooked others; and are of opinion that he has hazarded some assertions, which are quite unfounded. For instance, he has contended, that the Greeks could not have used the sound of the French u, because it is to be found only in the Parisian dialect; and in three different passages he asserts that no other people use this sound, or have any character to express it (see p. 366). The fact however is, that it is very frequent in the Danish and the Icelandic; in both which, it is expressed by the letter y, which is not applied to any other purpose by the Danes. The same sound is always given to oo, in part of Devon and Somersetshire, and in Norfolk, as well as to o in to and do, which is spoken shorter: with us in Scotland, it is still more familiar. It is likewise given in Gaelic to ao; and we understand that it occurs also in Welsh. Mr. Mitford is equally mistaken in saying, that the nasal n forms one of 'the characteristical features of the French language, which distinguish it at a wide distance from all others.' This nasal sound, which we express by ng, is perhaps much more frequent amongst the Portuguese; and from their manner of expressing it by a mark over the vowel, without writing the n, the French, perhaps, adopted the absurd notion, that the nasal n is a vowel. 'Le son nasal étant une voyelle.' Levisac. It is possible, however, that this sound, which is not used in Spanish, was introduced into Portugal by

the French, who settled there under Henry of Burgundy, father to the first King of Portugal, at the end of the 11th century. We believe it is also used in Valencia and Catalonia, which were rescued from the Moors by French assistance. Catalonia was ruled by French counts of Barcelona, till it was united to the crown of Arragon in the twelfth century.

Mr. Mitford having enlarged very much, and in a desultory manner on the sound of vowels, it is impossible for us to follow him regularly through all his observations. We think it better, therefore, briefly to state the sounds with which we are acquainted; some of which are not to be found in the English, and some are rare in other tongues. We do not indeed know of any language, in which all the vowels with their variations of long and short are used; and on that account, no perfect alphabet exists, by which they can be represented. Though we must in the following scheme use diphthongal characters to express some of them, we nevertheless mean to represent simple sounds, and we only use those characters for want of proper ones. By a vowel, we understand the smallest distinct portion of sound, produced by a simple motion of the organs of speech, and long or short according to the length of the spiration. We find nine distinct long vowels, all which (except perhaps one) have their corresponding short sounds; so that at least seventeen characters would be necessary to express them clearly. Of these nine vowels, three may be called guttural, because sounded at the root of the tongue; three labial, because they are uttered by protruding the lips; and three dental, because they are formed by applying the tongue to the lower teeth.

Guttural Vowels. The first is spoken by throwing the breath to the lower part of the mouth, and pressing the point of the tongue downwards; the second, by keeping the tongue suspended: the third, by throwing the breath to the roof of the mouth, and elevating the tongue. In speaking the third, the mouth is opened to its utmost extent; in the second, much less; and in the first, very little. The tongue must not touch the teeth.

1. eu. The long sound is perhaps not used in English, but it is in the first syllable of the French word meurtre, with the short sound in the second.—Short in son, sun, dirt, her. The French female e is this vowel spoken very short, and in some words scarcely sounded at all.
2. aw. In hawk.—Short in stock, wan, horse, moss. The Danes express this sound by aa, the Swedes by a with an o superscript.
3. a. In passing, example. In the French bras, and the Italian padre, used longer than in any English words.—Short in passive, ample.

Labial Vowels. The positions of the tongue, and method of breathing in pronouncing these, are respectively similar to those which produce the guttural vowels; but in speaking the last, the lips are compressed and considerably protruded; in the second, they are compressed somewhat more, and protruded less; in the first, they are very much compressed, so that the point of the upper lip bends almost over the lower, which is drawn inwards a little.

1. u. Not used in pure English; but in the French dûr, and in the Gaelic aou. Expressed in Danish

and Icelandic by y. Used in moon, according to the dialects of Devon, Somerset, and Norfolk.—Short in the French du; in the Somersetshire to; &c. We are not sufficiently skilled in Danish pronunciation to state, in what words this is used long, and in what short.

2. oo. In fool, moon, you, brute.—Short in full, bush.

3. o. In more, hoary, morose.—Short, a sound rare in English, though common in almost every other language. The last in the French bouillon, and the first in the Italian vostro. The English generally use it in protect, morass; but, for the most part, they give a short o the sound of the second guttural vowel, as in horse, &c. which foreigners pronounce with the true short o.

Dental Vowels. The first of these is spoken, by applying the tongue to the bottom, the second to the middle, and the third to the top of the lower teeth. In speaking the last, the mouth is opened to the utmost extent of which it is capable, while the tongue rests against the top of the teeth: the second with less, and the first with still less distension; but greater in all three than in the second guttural.

1. e in hair, hairy.—Short in heriot, very, merry.

2. i in here, niece, peace, mere.—Short in hither, miss, mirror.

3. ei in fine, fight. Frequently expressed in German by eu, as feuer; in Danish by eg, as egn, and jeg which is pronounced like the English pronoun I, with a y before it.—We know of no word in which it is used short. It requires considerable

organic exertion; and on that account, the force of the spiration is not easily moderated; nor is it used in all languages.

N.B. In the dental vowels, the different degrees of distension produce the variety of sound, and it is not very important against what part of the teeth the tongue shall strike; but the wider the mouth is opened, the higher the tongue strikes naturally.

Thus, it appears, that there are three distinct classes of vowels, with their variations of long and short. We are aware, that in different dialects they are spoken longer or shorter, and thence arises the peculiar pronunciation of each country, which a stranger seldom acquires perfectly: but the broad division of long and short, is sufficient for general use. The second class may be made more or less labial: the German and Danish ö fluctuates between the first guttural and first labial. We do not think the human voice capable of producing any other distinct vowels. Those who are inclined to examine the accuracy of our definitions, must speak the vowels slowly, without adding consonants. The sound which we express in house, and which very few foreigners can imitate, is not a simple sound: it cannot be spoken by the protrusion of the lips, without first opening them for the guttural vowel with which it commences. The reason that foreigners seldom speak it right, is that they attempt to compound it of aw-oo or a-oo, instead of eu-oo: which can be spoken much more rapidly than either of the other combinations, because the tongue, in speaking eu quickly, is nearly in the same position as in speaking oo.

Diphthongs are formed by the rapid combination of two simple sounds; the middle vowels of the two last classes most frequently form a part in such combinations, and are then generally expressed in English by w and y; and they seem to have a singular affinity to the aspirate. Perhaps if all the nice varieties of pronunciation could be brought together, a chain might might be discovered connecting almost imperceptibly the different forms of the aspirate with those two vowels, when used in diphthongal combinations. They may meet together, as in you and we; or be reduplicated, as in yēar, yĕs, wōo, woŏd. The oo or w is rarely used after a vowel, by the English, in diphthongal combinations, perhaps only after eu in house, &c.; aoo and eoo which the Italians use in aureo, Europa, being never found in English. The English use several combinations with the i or y; yoo in due, beauty, use, Europe; awy in coin, cloister; ay in the monosyllable, and very frequently in reading Greek. And here we must take notice of a great error committed by those, who have stated that the long vowel in fine was the same as that diphthongal sound. Whoever has been accustomed to read Greek according to the English fashion, will immediately perceive the wide difference between χαῖρε and χεῖρε, the last being spoken by us with a simple, the first with a double sound.

An attempt to introduce regular orthography into the different languages of Europe, or even to reform our own, as Mr. Mitford has vainly attempted in some instances, would be fruitless; and even if it could succeed, would perhaps not be desireable, because it would render books already printed, in the course of time

unintelligible. But the adoption of new characters to express the several vowels, with their distinctions of long and short, and the repetition of all words in dictionaries spelt according to their sound by means of a general alphabet, with the omission of useless consonants, would greatly facilitate the pronunciation of different languages, and be attended with little difficulty For instance, the sounds of oui French, we English, uidh Gaelic, might all be expressed by the w and long i, or second dental vowel.

In the ninth section, Mr. Mitford proceeds to consider the articulation of the Greek language. Our only sure guide in this part of the subject, is the treatise of Dionysius Περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων, which is, however, not quite satisfactory. Mr. Mitford is certainly mistaken in some points. He describes the Greek long α to be the a in fall, or the aw in hawk, which was undoubtedly not the case. It is perhaps the only Greek vowel of which the sound is explained without the least ambiguity, and it is clearly not the English aw, but the a in pass, or the longer sound in bras and padre. Dionysius says that it is spoken, ἀνοιγομένου στόματος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἄνω φερομένου πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, 'with the mouth opened to its utmost extent, and the breath directed upwards' The three dental vowels (the a, e, i, of the English alphabet) are all spoken with the mouth much more extended than our aw in fall; but the a in bras and padre, is spoken with the greatest possible distension of the jaws, and with the breath directed upwards, which is not the case in articulating aw. Mr. Mitford says that η was the English a in male and mail; and thinks that Dionysius

has exactly described it. This appears doubtful, for Dionysius describes the iota as a dental vowel, but not the η; whereas the a in male is spoken by applying the tongue to the root of the teeth, and striking the breath against them. His description seems rather to point out the French eu, in which case η would have the sound used in the first syllable, and ε in the second of meurtre, which last the Danes also give to their short e. The confusion which the modern Greeks make between η and υ in some degree favours this conjecture; on the other hand, the present Athenian pronunciation renders the former most probable. Iota must have been spoken like the English e, which is the i of other countries, and ω like our long o. Dionysius's description of υ certainly appears to point out the French u, by the great slenderness which he attributes to it; and perhaps the frequent occurrence of the same sound in Icelandic, where it is expressed by the letter Y, may tend to confirm this notion. Υ is now spoken in Corfu like the second dental vowel i. The Icelanders have other peculiarities common to the Greeks, such as the aspiration of r and d. The Icelandic d and Greek δ are both pronounced like the slender th in the, and the simple d is not used in either language.

Having dismissed the Greek vowels, Mr Mitford observes, 'that if we have reasonably to complain of any omission of Dionysius, it is that he has not at all described the diphthongs.' It appears to us, that the treatise contains passages, which throw a pretty clear light upon the pronunciation of Greek diphthongs, and also of the iota subscript, which Mr. Mitford has unaccountably overlooked. Commenting upon a passage

from Pindar, in which the word ἐπὶ follows Ὀλύμπιοι, Dionysius observes, that the harmony is interrupted, and a necessary pause occasioned by the collision of the final ι and incipient ε, which never meet in the same syllable. It must be remembered, that the Greeks never use an incipient y, the letter ι being always last in their diphthongal combinations. The same observation he makes on Ἀγλαΐᾳ ἴδετε, where he says that the final and incipient ι produce a difficulty (ἀντιτυπίαν) in the pronunciation. Hence, it appears, that the iota subscript, and the final letter of the diphthong were pronounced exactly as that letter would have been spoken in any other situation; and he probably considered that, as he had described the sounds of the several vowels, those of the diphthongs, which were formed by their combination, must of course be comprehended. Probaby ῳ had the sound of owy in Bowyer, and οι of oy in the French oyer.

The exact sound, however, which was given to letters, by the ancient Greeks, is perhaps a subject of curiosity, but certainly not of indispensable importance in examining their versification: whether ῳ was spoken like owy or oy is of little consquence; but it is important not to give a short sound to a long vowel, and a long sound to a short one, which is subversive of their metrical rules. The great errors, which Englishmen commit in reading Greek and Latin poetry, whereby they frequently falsify the quantity, arise from the confusion of long and short vowels, produced by the capricious irregularity of their own orthography. It may perhaps be thought extraordinary, that we who dwell (as we have said upon a former occasion) 'in this metropolis

of false quantities,' (Edinburgh), should venture to discuss such topics: but this we must assert, that though the English may bring from their schools more rules of prosody to assist them in composition, their ears are as callous to the faults which they daily commit in reading their own productions as those of the most unlearned amongst our countrymen. Mr. Mitford has handled this part of his subject well, and to his book we refer the reader; if he perceives not at once the absurdity of giving căno the long sound of main; and vĭrum that in fine, instead of the short sound which is properly expressed in viridis; or, on the other hand, pronouncing the last syllable of primīs with the short i. The same observations are applicable to Greek, in which, not only quantity, but accentuation also has been disregarded. We know that it is asserted by some, that Greek accents are to be considered merely as expressive of musical notes. If they mean simply that, in applying Greek words to music, the accents were important, we perfectly agree with them. The accents, with which Latin words were and are still spoken, the accents, with which Greek were, but are by us no longer spoken, and those, differing in rules of position from both the former, with which our own words are sounded, must be of the highest importance in applying the poetry of those several languages to music. But we must assert, that if Greek words were to be set to music according to our present mode of pronunciation, the accents marked over them in writing would be wholly unimportant, and the new accents thrown upon the words by the Latin rule, which we have adopted in reading Greek, would be the sole object of consideration. Accent and quantity may

both be observed in applying words to music; and undoubtedly, the old composers of Greek music did in some degree attend to both. In the poetry of most modern languages, quantity has been little regarded: orthography in our own is so capricious, the same letter in different words so often used to express different sounds, and consonants so frequently superfluous, that quantity is scarcely distinguishable. The composers of modern music have assumed to themselves, naturally enough, the license of making long syllables short, and short ones long, and of accenting unaccented syllables. To this very circumstance in his own days, Dionysius alluded, stating that it was not unusual to force and alter the quantity and accents for the music, instead of adapting the music to them. By this, the musical composer certainly gained an advantage, but the poetry was destroyed. The natural consequence followed; the later Greeks began to disregard quantity, and wrote their *στίχοι πολιτικοί* (which may be translated, popular poetry) exactly as we do. The *σύνοψις ἱστορικὴ* of Constantine Manasses is written without any rules of quantity, but the same accentual cadence is preserved throughout the whole. For instance,

Εἰς Σικελίαν ἀποπλεῖ
τὴν πολυφορωτάτην
Τὴν πόλιν τὴν βασιλειον
ἀποκοσμῆσαι θέλων,

pronounced according to the accents, is nearly similar to the old lines,

'Then into England straight he came
With fifty good and able,' &c.

We have never seen the laws of the στίχοι πολιτικοὶ explained; and, considering their simplicity, it is very singular that Doctor Foster should have written thus; 'Whether the metre of them be considered as accentual, or as a common temporal metre, it is faulty and corrupt each way; but, on the whole, I do not think it accentual.' We have, however, examined a large part of the σύνοψις without discovering any lines that offend against the following simple rules: The verse shall consist of 15 syllables, and shall be divided into hemistichs of 8 and 7. An accent shall invariably fall on the 14th, and no expressed accent, grave, acute, or circumflex, shall fall upon any odd syllables, saving the 1st and 9th, in which the aberration is permitted, excepting in the case of monosyllables, and acute accents, thrown by an enclitic upon a circumflexed word, which may occupy any of the odd places except the last. This metre is not connected, as some have imagined, with the catalectic iambic, which has not that division, and seldom that cadence; but it is an accentual form of the trochaic, quantity being disregarded. Many such verses will be found amongst the trochaics of Aristophanes and the tragedians. For instance, Εἶτα θυμαίνειν ἔφασκε· δεινὰ γὰρ πεπονθέναι. Nephel. It is difficult to ascertain exactly, how and when quantity was first banished; these στίχοι πολιτικοὶ are of the 11th century. Not long after, Tzetzes wrote verses exactly similar; but although they are accented like our poetry, and clearly derive their whole harmony from those accents, he, the same Tzetzes, wrote also strict iambic verse; and though there is no reason, nor shadow of reason, for supposing that he pronounced each individual word differently

in the different metres, he expressed his sense of the superior excellence of those, in which temporal rules were observed. By this it appears indisputably, that the Greek words were then pronounced according to their accents; that such pronunciation did not, to a Greek ear, destroy the harmonious cadence of temporal verse; and that the same combination of accents did produce the same metrical effect in that language that it does in ours: and certainly they deserved the same consideration from a composer of music.

But if it be further asserted, that such accents were solely expressive of musical notes, and were not regarded in conversation: or, if they were, that such conversation must have been in recitative: we ask whether those, who hold that opinion, are prepared to say, that a Greek orator, using the word μητροκτονος, would have had no means of expressing whether a man had killed his mother, or had been slain by her, without having recourse to musical notes: and, consequently, that such of his audience as were not gifted with good musical ears, might have doubted which was the case. Μητρόκτονος, slain by his mother, and μητροκτόνος, a matricide, differ only in their accents. These words the English reader pronounces alike, meetroctonos; giving the second and 4th syllables the sound used in moss, and preserving nearly the true short o in the 3rd. We request our readers to speak the word with the short o, as above explained, in all the three last syllables; and, not suffering the long o, or short aw to intrude themselves, to throw the accent in one case on the second, in the other on the third syllable, and they will find, that without at all approaching the long sound,

(which would be expressed by meetroke-tone-ose) they may throw an accent as emphatic as the energy of the cause might require, upon either; and that it would be distinguishable without the least ambiguity, as far as the voice could reach. The same is the case with the English word revenue, which some accent on the first, and others on the second; but none, except a few of our countrymen, pronounce it as if the accented syllable had a long e, which would be expressed, according to English orthography, by raivenue or revainue. Let it not be said that the v or n, are doubled; an error not unlikely to arise from our faulty orthography. When a consonant is reduplicated, we very rarely pronounce both, which we are convinced the Greeks and Romans did; for they could not have deemed them longer than a mute and liquid, if they had not distinctly sounded both consonants, as the French do in some futures like je courrais, and the English in some compound words, like overrun; or where a mute e intervenes, as in supineness, solely, &c. For this reason, no Greek or Latin words end with a reduplication. With us, a reduplicated consonant is generally a sign that the preceding vowel is short, and bears the acute, and only one is articulated.

Trissino's Italia Liberata was printed in 1547 and 48, with Greek vowels, in Italy: this edition may be of great use in explaining the Greek pronunciation, and the difference between accent and quantity, which have been strangely confounded. The Italians have a distinct long and short o; the first pronounced like ours, the second as we have above stated. In their verbs, the first person of the present tense ends with the long o

unaccented, and the third of the past with the short accented: therefore we find very properly the present of tornere printed tωrnω, and the past tωrnò; at the same time honor accented on the last is printed hωnωr, and vostro accented on the first is vostrω. We pronounce the Latin vos, as if written with ω; but the sound in the first syllable of vostro is very different from that, and from the short aw which Englishmen express in voster. No good speaker of Italian will give the same sound to the accented syllables of tornò and onòr; like the former is the Greek μωρὸς, and very different from morose or moross. The acute accent certainly does not induce length of time; the more rapidly an Englishman pronounces the contraction I don' know, the more strongly does he accent the middle syllable; and in the same manner should the Greek συντόνῳ be articulated. Dr. Foster was not able to divest himself sufficiently of habitual prejudices to consider this justly; for instance, he said, (p. 31), that the voice dwelt longer on the first than on the second syllable of the word honestly; an assertion, when applied to English pronunciation, directly contrary to fact, and which has arisen from the strange confusion that has been made between accent and quantity. In the first of that word, we find the aw, as it is used in hock; but the most acute accent, that can be thrown upon it, will not make it approach the more to the long sound in hawk, which is produced by the same motion of the organs of speech with a longer breathing. The theory of Sheridan was so unintelligible, that it scarcely requires notice. He felt the truth, but old prejudices prevented his fully comprehending it; and therefore,

when he found short syllables accented, he said that, in such cases, the accent was on the consonant; forgetting, that co-existence with some vowel, and conformity to its tone, are the principal clauses in the charter, by which consonants hold their place in articulated speech. It has been however disputed, whether, in the English language, the accented syllables are pronounced higher, or only louder, than the others. We are persuaded that, according to the best English articulation, they are spoken in a higher tone; but we are willing to admit (as Mr. Mitford does) that it is possible to speak one syllable louder than the rest without speaking it higher: and perhaps in some provinces that habit may prevail; but we agree with him, that it would produce an effect very inferior to the melody of good English speech. This, however, we must observe, that whether spoken higher or louder, a short syllable will still be a short syllable; for length of time has nothing to do with high or low, loud or low. We are not surprised that our learned countryman, Lord Kaimes, should have held that every accented syllable in English was long; for it is the peculiarity of our Scottish dialect rarely to use the acute, but generally to prolong the syllable which has the English accent; as it is perhaps the peculiarity of the Irish to speak it in a higher tone than Englishmen. Hence arises much confusion in the discussion of this subject. We readily admit, that the tone which our countrymen (i. e. *the Scotch*) generally give to the accented syllable, is incompatible with brevity; it is the proper tone that should be given to the Greek circumflexed vowel; and the circumflex cannot be placed on a short one; and perhaps that

heavy circumflex, which invariably adheres to our lowland articulation, may be more unpleasing to a foreigner, than the lighter monotony of the French; but we hold, that speaking the accented syllable higher, as the Irish do, or merely with greater emphasis, as some think the English do, is very different from prolonging it.

Mr. Mitford, who appears to be unacquainted with German, had learned from a sentence in Cesarotti, that an extraordinary hexameter-mania had lately pervaded Germany; and he merely repeats the fact. It is, however, intimately connected with this subject, and requires some consideration. Klopstock, whose reputation is perhaps undeservedly great, has prefixed to his Messiah a treatise upon that disgusting abortion, which is called the German hexameter. A few extracts, which we translate from the German, will be sufficient to explain the nature of his system.

'The rule of our hexameter is to use the dactyle oftener than the trochee, and that oftener than the spondee. We dare not use the dactyle so often as the Greeks, because the trochee is not so slow as the spondee; and that (as the third foot in this species of poetry) does not occur frequently enough to counterbalance the numerous dactyles. It must be allowed, that our epic verse has greater variety than the Homeric hexameters. I call them by that name, because Homer's are more beautiful than those of any other poet, Greek, or Roman: but I must apologize for apparent partiality in preferring the rhythm of our hexameters.'—'I prefer it for two reasons; 1st. Because the dactyle and trochee are very similar, and the spondee has no nearer

affinity to the dactyle than any other foot, except the molossus ! ! ! !'—'2dly, Because the rythm of our verse, being more various than that of Homer, has a beautiful metrical expression: and I trust that these two reasons will be sufficient to acquit me of partiality. But I will further prove my impartiality by confessing, that one superiority in the Homeric verse is, that the rapidity of the dactyle is better supported in it by spondees, than in our hexameter by trochees. Our poets can, however, lessen that superiority, by exerting themselves not to use the spondee too seldom, which we can get by means of our monosyllables; and also to choose such trochees, as, according to Greek pronunciation, would be spondees.'

If the German poet has not proved his impartiality, he has at least expressed very novel and curious notions of quantity; but though all this be nonsense, as unmixed as ever flowed from the pen of man, it deserves some notice, as having fallen from one of high authority on the Continent, who has had numberless imitators, and has in a manner destroyed all sense of good poetry in Germany. Proceeding to express himself further, he states that the Germans have words exactly similar to the Greek; as, wérfen βαλλεν, húldigung, ουρανου, heílighed, δειδεχατ'. This is inaccurate; for no Greek word ending with a long syllable, like huldigung, can be accented on the antepenult; if he had taken Latin words indeed, and written fulminant and fulminis, he would have been right. We, as well as the Germans, have many words spoken according to the Latin rules of accentuation, and, of such, a true hexameter verse might certainly be composed; but if all were so accented

the metre would not suit our languages, because the consonants are so numerous, that our lines must consist almost of spondees, instead of either trochees or dactyles, which he mentions, mistaking accent for quantity. But many of our words are accented in a very different manner; cruelty, nourishment, lébende, tódesstreich, are not accented like honésta, and descéndunt: and, on that account, the same combination of quantities would not produce the same cadence or combination of accents; and consequently would form a different verse. For these reasons, it is evident, that no series of verses can be written in our languages exactly similar to Latin hexameters. But the species of verse, (if verse it can be called), which, under the auspices of Klopstock, has overrun Germany, and even invaded Denmark, bears little resemblance to them. The scheme of the German writers is to place an accented syllable where the Romans placed a long one, and an unaccented syllable where they used a short one; as if accent and quantity were similar. In intremere, the second is short and accented, the first long and unaccented: in honesta, the reverse is the case. But (reply the Germans) we disregard quantity, and our poetry is regulated by accent, as that of the Romans was by quantity. We are willing to admit, for the sake of argument, that quantity has been disregarded in the poetry of modern languages, and that in many instances irregular orthography hath so confused it, that it is not easily distinguished. But how does it follow that accent is similar to quantity, or will produce the same metrical effect? Had not the Romans accent as well as distinct quantities? Do we not know that their words were accented

by an invariable rule, and do we not now adhere to that rule in reading Latin? namely, that if the penult be long, it shall be accented; if it be short, the antepenult shall be accented, whether long or short. And is it not evident, that, under that invariable law, certain combinations of quantity must produce certain combinations of accent, very different from those which would be made by fixing the accents uniformly in the place of long syllables? For example, we will take a favourite line, which Klopstock has quoted from the Messiah, in his treatise. Though every syllable except the last is long, it is intended for a dactylic hexameter, an accent falling on the first of every three syllables. The same cadence has been used in English and Spanish; and it is, in fact, a verse of the triple accentual cadence, improperly protracted to the length of seventeen syllables without a pause. We have no hesitation in asserting, that (waving all consideration of quantity) a verse so accented could not be admitted in Latin heroic poetry, and we doubt whether it could in Greek. We should look in vain through Virgil for a verse which could answer to it; and Romæ mœnia terruit impiger Hannibal armis, attributed to Ennius, is too exceptionable in other respects to serve our purpose; but our recollection affords us a modern line, which will nearly correspond with that of Klopstock.

> Projicit Ætna, latente superbior igne Vesevus.
> Tónender sángen verbórgen von búschen med liébender kláge.

We believe it will be readily granted that such a verse is inadmissible in Latin heroic poetry; we doubt whether such an arrangement of acute accents will be

found in Greek, but have not leisure to ascertain the fact. Two or three lines have been pointed out to us in the Odyssey, where the first syllable of each foot has either an acute or circumflex; but they commence with spondees, and the accentual cadence is also broken by a stop. We do not, however, pretend to give an opinion on this subject, which we have not sufficiently investigated. The first line that will occur to every Greek scholar, is

Λύτις ἔπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδῆς,

which we have been taught to read according to Latin accent with that most unpleasant cadence. We beg our readers, who have probably seen a stone bounding down the steepest pitch of a hill, rolling along the slope, and striking at last against some obstacle below, to read that verse according to its real accents; that is, *ἔπειτα* and *πέδονδε* like the English word crúelty, and the last syllable of *ἀναιδῆς* like the English dace; and they will find a remarkable instance of what has been called imitative harmony. If it be said, that in so reading the verse the quantities are falsified, we must ask whether the following Latin line is false in quantity; which, if the two last words be spoken together, will be similar to it

[illegible] tesqua fugit sus.

Here we must observe, that the opinion, pretty generally received that Greek hexameters, read according to their accents, would be offensive to an English ear, is [illegible] construction are read by [illegible] accents and are not often-

sive. For instance, ὀξέι χαλκῷ would have the cadence of ακαματον πυρ and ισοθεος φως: νημερτέα βούλην of τεκε νυμφη and απο ναων; βασιλεύσει Ἀχαιῶν of εγγυθι δε στας, and so forth. Ἄναξ, φρονεῖν γὰρ οἱ ταχεῖς οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς would have the same cadence that we now give to Δεδραχ'· ολοιμην ὡν επαιτιᾳ με δραν. On the other hand, we should get rid of that peculiarly offensive form of the hexameter, which, if ever, will certainly be rarely found according to Greek accentuation: and it is remarkable, that the jingling cadence, which was banished by the Roman poets, occurs frequently, according to our improper mode of reading Greek, especially where the metre is very dactylic. Such verses as Νειόθι δ' ἄλλοθι γαῖα φερέσβιος ἄστεάτ' ἀνδρῶν in Apollonius Rhodius, or Πολλὰ δ' ἄναντα κάταντα πάραντάτε δόχμιάτ' ἦλθον in Homer, are actually ludicrous as we read them; but, spoken according to their accents, they assume a very different character. We do not at present assert that that cadence was absolutely excluded in Greek: it is sufficient for our argument that at least it occurred rarely, and that the structure of the hexameters did not naturally lead to it: consequently, those who would have transplanted them into another language, should not have sought, but avoided it.

It is impossible, however, to conceive a greater error than that of the Germans, in fancying that their metre admitted greater variety than the verse of Homer. If the Greek hexameter has a fault, it is that its accentual cadence is perhaps too irregular. It is in general too various to satisfy an English ear, which is accustomed to more regular recurrence of accents, and pays less attention to the quantity of syllables. It was too various

to satisfy the Romans; and, on that account, in this, as in other metres which they adopted from the Greeks, they restricted the cadence by certain rules, which we think have never been properly considered. The invariable rule, by which all Latin words were accented, did of itself limit the number of accentual combinations, which certain combinations of quantities could produce; but that was not sufficient. In hexameters the poets of the Augustan age adopted as a general rule, from which they occasionally departed, that the accent should fall on the first syllable of the two last feet, which was matter of indifference to the Greeks. There are, according to our recollection, but three lines in the first Georgic ending like stériles dominántur avénæ, where four unaccented syllables stand together before the two last feet; although the form of liquefactaque vólvere sáxa, similar in quantity, occurs thirteen or fourteen times. We have already said that Virgil never permitted the accents to fall on the first syllable of every foot. When he wished to produce a rapid dactylic verse, he used three accents on short syllables.

Quadrupedante pútrem rápido quátit ungula campum.

In alcaics and asclepiads, the Romans did not suffer three unaccented syllables to fall together, unless comprised in one word; except in the first part of the verse, where an aberration of accent was permitted; as in English we allow, Spírits odorous breathe, and Múrmuring and with him fled, &c.; though, except at the beginning of a verse or sentence, this aberration would be offensive. The Latins permitted this at the

commencement of the line, as Méntem sacerdótum and Perrúpit Acherónta; but in any other part of the verse it could not be suffered. The only instance we recollect is, Mentemque lymphátam Mareótico; and there it is clear, that Horace intended to throw the metre out of its regular form to express the madness produced by intoxication; as in the second ode of the 4th book he altered the usual cadence of the sapphic to express the dithyrambic style of Pindar. It appears to us that the Romans attended very much to accentual cadence. In the third verse of the alcaic stanza, it was a rule, almost invariable, that an accent should fall on the fifth or sixth syllable: only three lines in Horace, ending with a quadri-syllable, offend against it. The fact has been formerly observed, but not the reason: another peculiarity in this verse has perhaps escaped notice; that the two first feet cannot be separated in two dissyllables, or comprised in a quadri-syllable. The accentual laws of the dimeter and trimeter iambic admit of no exceptions, and are distinct from any rules of cæsura or of dipodia. Et spíssæ némorum cómæ, is a very common form of the glyconic verse; but Et spíssa móntium cóma, which bears the same accentual cadence, (that is, the acute on the second, fourth, and seventh) though a very just dimeter iambic as to quantity, is not a Latin verse, because it bears the cadence peculiar to the glyconic. The iambic foot is however used freely in the third place, and this form must have occurred very often, if it had not been purposely avoided; but there is not one such dimeter iambic in Horace; not one in the Senecas, though indeed they wrote but few; not one in Ausonius, who wrote many, and used them by them-

selves; not one in Boethius; not one in Prudentius, who wrote upwards of seventeen hundred. One instance, and only one, stood in the oldest editions of Prudentius; Ornare nænias Numæ: but, although the principal objection to this verse had never been observed, the true reading has been restored in later editions from manuscripts; Orare simpuvium Numæ. An ignorant transcriber, who had probably not read the sixth satire of Juvenal, substituted nænias for a word which he did not comprehend. On the other hand, it is worthy observation, that Inultus út flébo púer is a good cadence in the iambic, but excluded from the glyconic; for instance, Velóces pér ágros cánes is not a Latin verse. No such line is to be found in Horace, in Catullus, in the glyconic chorusses of the tragedians, in Boethius, or any ancient writer that we have seen. One only similar to it occurs in Catullus, and in that the cadence is interrupted by a semicolon after the first word, which completely alters the case. In other forms, where the difference of quantity more forcibly struck the ear, the same cadence was permitted in both. The Latin catalectic iambic is governed by the same accentual laws, as the Italian verse of eleven syllables; the tenth must always be accented, and either the sixth, or both the fourth and eighth. For instance, the following lines are accurate.

Cosi diss' élla e lagrimándo tácque. *Trissino.*
Marisque Báiis obstrepéntis úrges. *Horace.*

but, Diss' ella così e lagrimándo tacque, and Marisque vesáne strepéntis úrges, would not be metre in either language, on account of the aberration of the accent from the fourth as well as the sixth place. The cadence

of the sapphic is the same, when it divides, as usual, after the fifth syllable. It is accented on the sixth, or both fourth and eighth. Vidimus flavum Tíberim retórtis, and Dexterâ sácras jaculátus árces. When the accents are differently placed, every ear perceives that the verse is less harmonious; and Horace only admits, as an occasional variety, the accent on the fifth and seventh, or the fifth and eighth, which the Italians never use. But as the affection for the cadence above mentioned appears to have increased gradually amongst the Romans, the later poets never admitted those varieties of accent, though they used the dactyle sometimes instead of the spondee in the second foot. There is not one sapphic verse in Statius, the Chorusses, Boethius, or Prudentius, which has not the accent on the sixth, or fourth and eighth. The Latin hendecasyllable is again the same in its most usual form. Cæsio veniam óbvius léoni, and Tenens in grémio mea ínquit Acme. The Italians admit occasionally the accent on the fourth and seventh, which is a form of the hendecasyllable. Acmen Septímius súos amóres, and Ella a coprír la malízia amorósa. These are the three best forms of the hendecasyllable; but others are used, which the Italians never admit. It is observable, that of the catalectic iambics, in which so little variation is permitted, two were never used together; that the sapphics in which a little more variety is used, were broken at a longer interval by the adonic; and the hendecasyllables, which admit great variety, were used alone. The Italian verse of twelve syllables, called sdrucciolo, is accented like the trimeter iambic ending with a polysyllable.

The accents must always fall on the same places as in the catalectic.

> Quid nos, quibus te víta sit supérstite. *Horace.*
> O la, grida con fáccia atra e bisbética. *Barufaldi.*
> Utrumne jússi persequémur ótium. *Hor.*
> Giunto alla sóglia del Musèo fatídico. *Bar.*

Ut assidens implúmibus pullis avis, in Horace, is an iambic verse, because the sixth is accented; but Ut assidens pullis avis deplumibus, though exactly the same as to quantities, would not be a verse on account of the wrong position of the accents. We are aware, that an objection will here be made, that this regular distribution of accents arises from the division of the line called cæsura; and that if the Greeks use the same laws of cæsura, the arrangement of accents in Latin trimeter iambics, must be incidental. But our doctrine is, that such lines as the Greeks would have admitted, the Romans excluded. Both objected generally to the division of verses into halves, except in particular metres where they required it: but with respect to iambics, this division, though in some cases avoided, was certainly not absolutely excluded. The Greeks objected more decidedly to the division of an iambic verse into three equal parts by a quadrisyllable in the middle, which Horace has here admitted; but there are several instances in Greek, of the following form, which cannot be used in Latin, on account of the improper situation of the accents, not on account of any law of cæsura; for the verse may be cut into two equal parts, and the third foot may be detached from both second and fourth. Ut assidens pullis inassuetis avis is faulty metre; Λέγω σ'

ἐγὼ δόλῳ Φιλοκτήτην λαβεῖν is not. We conceive that the Romans were gratified by the position of the accent on the sixth, or fourth and eighth, and therefore they restricted the laws of the Greek iambic and sapphic to produce this effect; and, as far as we know, the same positions have been observed by every European nation that has written eleven-syllabled accentual verse of the even cadence.

If we have not yet sufficiently proved, that these laws were independent of any rule of cæsura, the examination of the Latin tragedies, which are supposed to have been written by three different authors, but bear the name of Seneca's tragedies, will incontrovertibly establish it. The only rule attended to by the Latin tragedians, respecting the division of words, was, that generally the two middle feet should not be detached from both the second and fifth feet. They admitted great license of quantity, using the tribrach freely for the second and fourth feet; the tribrach, spondee, anapæst, and dactyle, indiscriminately for all the odd feet, and even four short syllables for the first foot; but, in consequence of this license, they found it necessary to limit the accentual cadence more than Horace had done. Therefore, although it excluded forms, which he had used with success, they established as an invariable law, that an accent should fall upon the sixth place, which was the keystone of their verse; that is, if the third foot was an iambic, spondee, or anapæst, on the last syllable of it; if a dactyle or tribrach, on the last or middle. The only instance of the contrary, in the ten tragedies, will be found in the Thebais, and the line is evidently corrupt, for the feet all stand distinct. 'Ponitis ferrum

ocius Ac dico, et ex æquo mihi dextras datis.' Probably æquas jam should be substituted for ex æquo. Two other lines, which at first appear to oppose our system, tend to confirm it. Nescio in two instances, stands as a dactyle in the third foot: the aberration of accent appearing in no other lines, it must be granted, that this was pronounced nec scio, or at least with the same tone as the words had before they coalesced. 'Provolvitur, nec scío quid onerato sinu Gravis unda portat,' is accurate. Yet this law excluded the following terminations, to which no other objection could be made, and not a single instance of them occurs in the tragedies, viz. per|sequémur otium; cap|rifícos erutas; im|périum, amorum dolis, though ím|peri, armorum doli does occur; in|trépidus, exul, vagus, though the forms of Scelér|ibus pœnas luet, which has the same division of words, and of quó|que prohibetur magis, which has the same quantities, occur in every page, as well as that of conjúgi|a despondet sibi. All monosyllables were considered as accented. We believe, that in long words, where three unaccented syllables preceded the accent, like consociáre, conditiónibus, inverecúndis, the Romans admitted a secondary accent, as the Italians have done in words like smisuratamente. Prudentius, who strictly observed all the accentual laws, has used ínverecúndus lepor in the trimeter iambic, which is faulty, unless a secondary accent be admitted. This license is however peculiar to him; he has used it only seven times in upwards of 2000 lines, and we know of no other such instance; his authority will not be deemed sufficient to establish it as an admissible termination. It does not occur in the tragedians.

With respect to the hexameter cæsura, we think that the Greeks and Romans differed materially in consequence of the difference of their accentuation. The form of verse, which most naturally produces the offensive cadence, is the unequal division of a dactyle in the third, without a break after the nextl ong syllable ; as, Suadentque cadentia sidera somnum. According to Greek accentuation, such distribution of words did not necessarily produce that cadence, and therefore it is frequent in Homer; but in Latin we think it inadmissible, unless the latter part of the first foot have an accent, as in præcipitat.

From these observations, it appears to us, that the metrical rules observed in the south of Europe, were not modern inventions, but the old accentual laws of Latin verse, which survived those of quantity. The Italian short verse of the canzoni, is Lydia dic per omnes in all its accentual varieties: the Spanish verse of eight feet, used in comedies, is the dimeter iambic or glyconic ending with a dissyllable in all their diversity. Sómnos quod invítet léves, Tántos senaládos héchos; Querúntur in sylvis áves, Que plébe y nobléza atténto ; Régum contúderit mínas, Sóbre afanziádas prisiónes; Ríxæ síve púer fúrens, Sépa Róma, sépa el órbe ; Et spíssæ némorum cómæ, Dexár de dárle cumplído; &c. The proportion of quantities, by which the lines were connected, being no longer observed, it became necessary to limit the variations of the cadence. In the short lines they could bear all the old variations, except the aberration from the last proper seat; in the longer verses, it was expedient to discard the least pleasing forms : but the hexameter and pentameter

were too long to produce a good effect in a language where quantity was disregarded. It remained for later poets to confound accent and quantity, and produce that barbarous hexameter, which Klopstock has brought into vogue again. We know not exactly at what period they were first introduced. The French are the only nation we know that speak without any accent, pronouncing their words with a uniformity, that renders their language unfit for poetry; for, as Mr. Mitford observes, where there is no variety, there can be no continued melody. This circumstance, however, rendered it impossible for them to confound accent with quantity; and consequently when they attempted to use the hexameter of the Latins, they considered the measure of their words. According to Pasquier, the first attempt was made by Etienne Jodelle in 1553. Pasquier himself wrote some lines upon the same plan, which he has inserted in the 7th book of his Recherches de la France, with the following observation; 'Or ces vers par moy cy dessus recitez, representent en notre langue les vers Grecs et Latins, dans lesquels ou considere la proportion des pieds longs et briefs seulement.' We quote his first four lines, as a specimen of the French hexameter, and pentameter.

'Rien ne me plait sinon de te chanter et servir et orner;
Rien ne te plait, mon bien, rien ne te plait que ma mort.
Plus je requiers et plus je me tiens seur d'estre refusé,
Et ce refus pourtant point ne me semble refus.'

He has taken considerable license with respect to the word et; servir is perhaps a spondee.

Dismissing the hexameter, we will briefly explain

what we conceive to be the laws of English accent and versification, which have perhaps never been rightly considered. The accentuation of words exceeding one syllable, can only be learned by habit, on account of its great irregularity. Dr. Johnson has given twenty rules to assist foreigners, but he allows that these have their exceptions. This however is almost invariable, that every word has some one syllable prominently accented; perhaps into has not. Monosyllables stand nearly in the same predicament as Greek words accented on the last: which alone, or followed by a pause, bore the acute; but, followed by other words, lost their accent and remained grave, being * spoken with French monotony. There is, however, this difference, that when several English monosyllables occur together, the most important, and those only, bear the acute. If a monosyllabic adjective and substantive are joined, the substantive has the acute, and the adjective the grave, unless the adjective be placed in antithesis, in which case the reverse happens. This law was observed by all our best poets; but Dr. Darwin and other modern writers have most improperly neglected it, and even affected the reverse. A monosyllabic adjective, however important, cannot have the acute before a substantive accented on the first syllable; and the reason is, that two syllables with the acute cannot fall together, unless so disjoined as to admit a pause between them: for

* The metrical use of the expressed grave in the στίχοι πολιτικοὶ however seems to indicate that the oxytons were not spoken with complete monotony, though probably less strongly accented, than when the acute was expressed.

instance, Pope might have been permitted to write, instead of more safe, 'Nor is Paul's chúrch sáfer than Paúl's churchyárd;' because the voice can pause between the words sufficiently to give the acute to church; but he could not have written, More safe Paul's high steeple than Paul's church-yard, because the acute could not be given to high in that situation. In verses, particularly of the triple cadence, (that is, where the acute falls on every third syllable,) a license has been frequently used of taking off the acute from unimportant dissyllables, and speaking them grave, as if they formed a part of the ensuing word.

Such being the system of accentuation in Teutonic languages, arising necessarily from the number of their important monosyllables, the laws of our heroic and dramatic verse are nearly similar to those of the Italians. The tenth syllable shall be accented: but the accent may be occasionally drawn back to the eighth The sixth shall be accented, or both fourth and eighth: the only exception to this rule is, when the second and eighth are accented, and no other accent intervenes. These are the invariable and fundamental rules that regulate our metre: if two accents are frequently thrown together, (which, as we have observed, cannot be done unless the words admit a pause of the voice), the effect will be unpleasant; but in every other way the metre should be varied as much as possible; for, if the accents always fall on the alternate syllables, it will want melody, to which variety is essential. It is observable, that the Greeks and Romans generally agreed in never throwing back the accent beyond one long and one short syllable;

whereas, one of the greatest faults in the English language is the removal of it beyond a long and two short, and sometimes beyond four short syllables, as in díffĕrēntlȳ, nécĕssărĭlȳ. We quote a few lines from Pope with the accents and quantities marked.

Pride, envy, malice, against Dryden rose,
In various shapes, of parsons, critics, beaus;
But sense survĭv'd when merry jests were past,
For rising merit will buoy up at last.
Might he return and bless once more our eyes,
New Blackmores and new Milbourns would arise,
Nay, should great Homer lift his awful head,
Zoïlus again would start up from the dead.

In this passage, the last line is read with some ambiguity, because it is doubtful whether start or up are most important, and which should take the acute accent. The metre requires it to be thrown on start: because if up, which is the seventh, takes the acute, both sixth and eighth remain grave, and the metre fails: but in the first line, the sixth syllable is short and unaccented; yet the acute falling on the fourth and eighth in the words malice and Dryden, the metre is perfectly good. Words which never can be accented, like to, the, of, &c. may occupy the sixth place, if the fourth and eighth have the acute, and vice versâ, but otherwise not. English verse has however one peculiarity, which serves to increase the dignity of the line, as elisions do in other languages. The difficulty

of sounding two acutes together, makes the accents fall generally on alternate syllables, which may be called their proper seats: and the verse is naturally divided into five accentual feet; in any, or all of which, an additional unaccented syllable may be inserted, which shall not be reckoned in scanning the verse; but such syllables should not be inserted between two, which, if separated, would both bear the acute. For instance, the following lines are accurate;

And mány an ám orous má ny a húm|orous láy.
The impé rial én'sign, which | full hígh | advánced.

But we are of opinion, that several verses even in Pope are faulty, because, by the improper position of the additional syllable, two accents meet in the same foot, which is improper, and could not otherwise happen without an intervening pause.

Héaven's whóle | foundá tions to | their cén'tre nód.

We are aware, that the word heaven has been very universally used as a monosyllable; a practice against which we protest, because v cannot be spoken with a final liquid, as in heaven, devil, &c. without the intervention of a vowel, however short. The same is the case with the word prism, which Dr Darwin has on the other hand improperly used as a dissyllable in the latter part of a verse. We think that a middle course should be steered Dionysius has properly explained, that amongst long syllables, some are longer than others, amongst short ones some shorter, on account of the nature of the vowel and the number of consonants;

and it appears to us, that such final syllables are of the shortest species, and that they have not sufficient strength to support the half of an accentual foot, unless, perhaps, near the beginning of a verse; and therefore, they should always be used as superfluous syllables, but not so placed as to throw two accents in the same foot. All heáven's foundátions would be good metre, because the adjective remains grave before its accented substantive. The following line from Milton, though at first sight it may appear similar, is in fact very different.

Fállen | Chérub, | to be wéak, | is mís|erable.

It divides like,

Irre|cóver|ably dárk, | tótal | eclípse,

in which there is an aberration of the accent from its proper seat in every foot, except the third and the last; but Pope's line can not be so scanned, because in that case, there would be an aberration in the second and third foot, which is not permissable. It must be observed, that in verse of the triple cádence, heaven and prism should be always used like other dissyllables; because although the triple is allowed to mix with the even cadence, no cadence can be used beyond the triple; and three unaccented syllables with one accented, cannot be used as an accentual foot: on which account, no additional syllables or aberration of accent can be permitted in that metre, but in some very long words a secondary accent is employed. This metre, having been frequently used for ludicrous subjects, has been written carelessly: its construction,

however, requires great attention; for if the license of making dissyllables grave be used injudiciously, or the accent thrown on an unimportant, and taken off an important, monosyllable, the verse will be lame. When two accented syllables met, the Romans appear to have used the same optional liberty, that is taken in the Teutonic languages, where monosyllables abound: they frequently threw the essential accent on a monosyllable, in which case, the syllable following must have remained grave: as in pér mare et térras fúgit.

Thus much with respect to the accentual laws of English verse: but we further assert, that there is a clear difference between accent and quantity in the English language; and that, independent of accent, quantity neither is, nor ought to be entirely disregarded in our versification. Every ear accustomed to Latin sapphics, would observe the peculiar structure of the following lines, and object to them in English blank verse; yet are they in every respect such as frequently occur, excepting that the words all follow the Latin rule of accentuation, and that the arrangement of quantities as well as accents, corresponds with that in a sapphic stanza.

> O liquid streamlets to the main returning;
>
> Murmuring waters, that adown the mountain
>
> Rush unobstructed; never in the ocean
>
> Hope to be tranquil!

A good writer (though he might use the same combination of accents) would naturally shun such

coincidence of temporal metre; not as being inharmonious, but as bearing a peculiar character, which should be avoided in English blank verse. It will appear by the following lines, which have the very same accentuation and the same cæsura, that a difference of quantities will destroy the resemblance to Latin sapphics.

The headlong torrent from its native caverns
Bursting resistless, with destructive fury
Roars through the valley, wasting with its deluge
Forests and hamlets.

The reason that our verse requires no established laws of quantity, is, that a great majority of vowels in our words are long by nature or position; many of our lines are spondaic; most have seven, eight, or nine long syllables, and consequently variety of quantity is rather to be sought for than restricted. In Greek and Latin, rules were necessary to prevent many short syllables falling together: in modern languages they are so rare, that the judgment of the poet may be trusted; but if he uses the license unskilfully, his lines will be weak. In the Henriade, 'Quī rassēmblĕ sōus lūi lă cŭrĭōsĭtē,' is a miserable verse on account of the concurrence of five short syllables near the end, but many such are not likely to occur.

The mechanism of French verse, which Mr. Mitford declares himself unable to comprehend, appears to us very simple. Except an occasional circumflex, the French do not use accent, and consequently it has

no share in their versification; on which account, their poetry affords little gratification to other European nations. A Spanish writer, who seems to have been endowed with good taste and judgment, says, that its monotony can only please 'oidos mas que Batavos.' This monotony prevents their using verse of many syllables; their alexandrine must be divided in the middle, with the same pause that we require at the end of an heroic verse, (where we should be dissatisfied with an adjective, whose substantive commenced the next line), and of course it must be considered as two verses. Long syllables prevail in French as well as English; and therefore, it was deemed sufficient to regulate the quantity of the most important in each hemistich, which must be always long; and the art of their versification consists in preserving a sufficient pause in the middle and avoiding a frequent concurrence of short syllables. The monotony of their language renders it necessary for them to pay considerable attention to their rhymes, which must be alternately single and double; and if the lines end with long vowels, the preceding consonants must correspond. The mute e after a long vowel is considered as a syllable in the rhyme; but in every other situation it must be elided by a word commencing with a vowel, which is not necessary when it follows a consonant. The French have no final short syllables except with the vowel e, which is the short eu. Mr. Mitford has asserted, (pp. 285-6), that there is no regular disposition of either quantities or accents in French verse: if he will examine the sixth syllable of each hemistich, he will find it as invariably long, as the thirteenth of the line

is short. Nor is it singular that such regulations should give a peculiar character very different from that of prose: the Italians and Spaniards can produce excellent metre of seven or eight syllables by one invariable accent. Martelli attempted to write dramatic verse in imitation of the French, by doubling the Italian line of seven syllables.

'Non tanto il sol s' allégra	| in questi nuovi albóri
Al garrir degli augélli,	| al ridere de' flóri,
Quant' io gioisco, o figlia,	| nel ritrovarti in viso
Con la solita páce	| quel solito sorríso.'

The difference of male and female verse is here made by elision in the middle. This metre was not, however, imported from France, as some Italian writers have imagined. Tiraboschi quotes from a Milanese poet of the thirteenth century, the following uncouth lines.

Fra Bon Vexin da Ríva	| che sta in Borgo Legniáno
D'le cortesie da déscho	| ne disette primáno, &c.

Mr. Mitford, however versed in other languages, appears to be unacquainted with the Oriental and Celtic; but he has thought it expedient to write a short chapter on Oriental and Celtic versification. Having only to state upon this subject, that he understands the mechanism of their verse is accentual, it was necessary to fill the chapter with other matter; and we find in it extraordinary and unsupported assertions on a very intricate subject, which is not necessarily connected with that of Mr. Mitford's work,—namely, the origin and affinities of different languages. This

is a point which perhaps can never be decided; but it is certain that it can only be illustrated by an intimate acquaintance with those several tongues, and with the earliest records and traditional history of the people who used them. Mr. Mitford, however, who appears to have learned no Oriental, no Celtic, no Sclavonic language; nor (as far as we can collect from his book) German, or any northern tongue, disposes of every dialect between the capital of the Great Mogul and the Atlantic, in the most brief and authoritative manner, by dividing them into two families, (p. 346). He appears never to have heard of the Hungarian and Lappish, which are reckoned very distinct from other European languages. On their similarity a curious work has been published in Sweden by Sajnowic. We also recommend to the learned author the perusal of a short treatise, translated from the French by Mr. Tooke, and augmented with his own observations, on the affinity of Latin and Sclavonic; tending to prove, not that Greek and Sclavonic were closely allied, as Mr. Mitford has assumed, but that Latin arose from a mixture of the two. Perhaps it may be truly asserted, that all languages have some points of affinity; and he might as well have united his two branches, for the Greek has perhaps more connexion with the Celtic than the Teutonic tongues: and he himself appears to insinuate, that the Welsh harp was of Greek extraction. To the distinction made between Welsh music and the Scottish airs, which he says were begotten on the bleak Highlands by the bagpipe, and consequently admitted no change of key, we must take three exceptions; that some Scotch airs have a change of key; that the bagpipe

may be played in a major and minor key, and admits the same extent as the hautboy; and that the harp was more ancient in the Highlands than the bagpipe. It was perhaps used by all Celtic nations. With respect to Gaelic verse, it is certainly accentual; but the recurrence of accents is much more irregular than in English metre, having been regulated by the music to which it was adapted; and its rhyme consists of similar accented vowels, without regarding the consonants. Mr. Mitford only mentions Icelandic poetry, to express his disbelief of the variety of metres to which Wormius has alluded; and he says, 'it is only for the notice with which such critics as Mr. Ellis and the Bishop of Dromore have honoured it, that I can have any respect for Wormius's discovery of 136 Icelandic measures.' Mr. Ellis appears to have used the word discovered inadvertently. The expression in Wormius is, 'Rythmorum infinita ferè sunt genera; vulgo tamen usitatiorum centum triginta sex esse putantur.' He explains one sort of Icelandic metre, and gives the following words, as an example of it.

ChriSTus Caput noSTrum
CorONet le bONis.

The commencement of Harold's song in Knytlinga saga, will shew that he was not inaccurate.

SneiD fyrer Sikiley viDa
SUD; varum tha prUDir.

We choose two specimens from the various Icelandic metres we have met with, which will serve to shew, that, by various length of lines, cæsuras, alliterations,

final rhymes, corresponding letters in the middle of words, and disposition of verses in stanza, 136 varieties might be easily produced. The Icelanders frequently used different metres in the same poem. § marks the cæsura.

> Lvdvrinn prvdvr § Liet so hatt,
> Leitar sveit ad hefna bratt.
> Gilldum hilldar § Grymur verk,
> Gramvr er tamvr a snilldaverk.—*Karl of Grymur.*

And in the same poem,

> Harek teknr ad § Hilia thiod med § Hordu stale.
> Hialmar, bryniur, § Hrumners male,
> Hilldar skye, og Golnirs bale.

We trust that these instances will remove all scepticism on this subject.

Mr. Mitford has devoted a chapter to a project for increasing the euphony of the English language, which might perhaps have been well omitted. It is certainly capable of improvement; but such projects must always be deemed chimerical. It has been said of many countries, (particularly Portugal), that their language would be excellent, if the people knew how to pronounce it; and perhaps Portuguese euphony might be greatly increased by referring their rules of pronunciation to a committee of foreigners; but we do not think the natives of Lisbon would unite in a vote of thanks on the production of their report

Before we conclude this article, we will briefly give the sum of our arguments concerning the nature of Greek and Latin accents, which we are persuaded, those who are most bigotted to a contrary system, will not easily answer to their own satisfaction.

We find, that in English, Italian, and other languages, the regular disposition of prominent syllables in certain places constitutes metre: we find that, in Latin verse of the same length, the syllables, which bore the acute accent, generally fell in the same places; and that in some metres they were invariably fixed there: we find, that where greater liberties of quantity were admitted in the iambic, the acute accent was never permitted to wander from the sixth seat; and that several forms of verse (to which no other objection whatsoever could be made) were abandoned, to preserve uniformly that situation of the acute accent: and we also know, that, in modern verse, we can permit an irregular disposition of all the prominent syllables, except the last, if that sixth place be filled by one. Further, we know that the Greek and Latin acute accents were precisely similar to each other; that they were described in the same manner; and that no natural difference was stated to have at any period existed between them. We find that the Greeks wrote verses of a certain length, which had no regularity but the disposition of accents in the very places which, in our verse, are the natural seats of our prominent syllables. From these premises, we draw this conclusion, that the accented syllables of the Greeks and Romans did produce the same metrical effect that the prominent syllables (which have always been called accented) in modern languages do produce; and we know that the modern Greeks pronounce them in the same manner. Mr. Primatt displayed much learning in his treatise on the subject of Greek accents, but he was afraid of handling his own weapons; and, directing his attacks against prose only, suffered himself

to be defeated by poetry. The best work on the subject appeared in 1796, and has been attributed to a learned prelate; but, however skilfully he wielded the exterminating sword against Latin accentuation in the Greek language, it fell from his hand at the close of all his labour; and subscribing, through needless timidity, to a theory supported by no evidence, he suffered the spectres of Latin accents to rise again, and post themselves on the last feet of hexameters.

We have thus attempted to solve that gordian knot of accent and quantity, which seems to have bound the understandings of many learned men; and, as it is very difficult to express varieties of sound by written definitions, in labouring to render ourselves distinctly intelligible, we are aware that we may have appeared prolix and tedious.

Having trespassed perhaps too long on the attention of our readers, by the discussion of this wide and intricate subject, opposing some statements in which we thought Mr. Mitford mistaken; illustrating others which may not have been placed in the proper light; and adducing new matter which to us appeared important; we are under the necessity of dismissing many parts of his learned work, without commenting on them, or giving them the particular praise which they deserve. We regret, however, that Mr. Mitford's observations are expressed with so little elegance: Sentences like the following are inferior to the style of polite conversation.

'Aware of the hazard of criticising language, but especially a foreign language, the risk of oneself mistaking and the risk of failing to make oneself understood by others, for explanation of the hypothesis ventured,

in the first article of the fifteenth section, concerning the loss of accent in the French language, I desire to refer to example within the English language,' p. 431. And shortly after, 'The difficulties of the passage, for turning into French, &c.'

We are far from requiring high-wrought expression, bold imagery, or sonorous periods, in a work of this nature; but we think that he, who proposes schemes for improving the euphony of the English language, would be heard with more deference, if he were studious of writing that language, as it now exists, with propriety and elegance. The work has, however, intrinsic merit, which will compensate the faults of style; and we think it our duty to recommend it to the attention of all who take any interest in such speculations.

When the foregoing treatise was written, it was almost impossible to make an English scholar understand the difference between accent and quantity. There is now scarcely a child of any family that has visited Greece who does not know that kal haymérray (καλ' ἡμέρη) and kal hespérra (καλ' ἑσπέρη) express in English orthography the Greek words for good day and good evening.

NOTE ON HORATIAN METRES,

March, 1841.

Mr. Tate, in his interesting new edition of Horatius restitutus, has referred to the foregoing article, and thrown much valuable light on the peculiarities of the Alcaic stanza and of other metres as used by Horace; but I think there are some points not yet noticed or fully understood, and I shall set them forth for the use

of those who wish to write the Alcaic stanza in the form most approved by his matured judgment; the carmen seculare and fourth book of odes having been written between his 49th and 51st year, and the three former successively between his 36th and 42nd. First I observe, that no elision of a diphthong, or u, or long e or a, is admissible in any Horatian lyrics. The only instance I find is Dona præsentis cape lætus horæ, et Linque severa. 3, 8, 37, but that solitary instance of such an elision by et, or (as it is in some editions) ac, at the end of a Sapphic verse would not authorize it in any other position. I am however persuaded that the lines have been transposed by an ignorant scribe to avoid the proximity of cavere and severa, which according to Roman pronunciation is not objectionable, and that Horace wrote Dona præsentis cape lætus horæ; Negligens, ne qua populus laboret, Parce privatus nimium cavere, et Linque severa. The greater length of time forbad such elisions in poetry written to music, and it must be recollected that the Romans like the Italians, pronounced both vowels of a diphthong. A long i cannot be cut off, (except in the supernumerary syllable after the Alcaic cæsura of which there is one instance) unless by est, et, or a preposition, of which there are few instances. Totum muneris hoc tui est, *Glyconic*, 4, 3, 21. Decedit ærata triremi et, *Alcaic*, 3, 1, 39, and Judex honestum prætulit utili et, 4, 9, 41, Vidi ego will be mentioned hereafter. A long o can also be only cut off by est, et, or a preposition, and I believe there is but one instance of an ambiguous o cut off otherwise, and that is in the above mentioned position, where Horace was particularly partial to an

elision, viz. a supernumerary syllable after the Alcaic cæsura, Marti redonabo; illum ego lucidus, 3. 1. 33. and that is in the book in which he indulged in many licences, especially of elision, which he renounced afterwards. Horace was not very willing to assign any quantity to the ambiguous o; he uses it short in ego, and in one instance in Pollio 2. 1. 14. In five places I count it long, memento rebus 2. 3. 1. vetabo qui, regnanto beati, Hâc lege dico ne, resigno quæ dedi, all in the third book and three of them in one ode, the third; but he prefers cutting it off, always however in the manner above limited: viz. in Alcaics Juno *et* Deorum 2. 1. 35. Ergo *ob*lîgatam 2. 7. 17.; all the rest, whether of the doubtful o or the long, are confined to the third book, in which he adopted new fancies which he afterwards discarded. Tentabo 3. 4. 31. Matrona Juno *et* 3. 4. 59. Matura virgo *et* 3. 6. 22. Quando *et* 3. 17. 2. Raro *ante*cedentem 3. 2. 21. Quodcunque retro *est* 3. 29. 46. Farre pio *et* 3. 23. 20. Cum populo *et* 3. 3. 24. Descende cœlo *et* 3. 4. 1. Vino *et* lucernis 1. 26. 5. Ut tuto *ab* atris 3. 4. 17. Negotio *et* 3. 29. 49. incesto *ad*didit integrum 3. 2. 30; and, in the Ionic a minore, fruticeto *ex*cipere aprum 3. 12. 12. The same book contains two similar elisions of the doubtful o in Asclepiads, Portas vir Macedo *et* 3. 16. 14. and Aquilo *im*potens 3. 30. 3. There are four other elisions of the long o, all likewise in the third book, of which one, Vitamque dio *et*, if written divo would be analogous to incesto *ad*didit integrum, viz. an elision after the cæsura; but, if written dio, it will be like the other three which end with the dipthongal power yo. Those three are flagitio

*ad*ditis 3. 5. 26. in medio alveo 3. 29. 34. and ingenio *ad*moves 3. 21. 13. I consider io or yo to be an open diphthong made short as in Greek, for it must be observed that he has no elisions of o in that part of the verse, unless preceded by i. There is a similar instance Tyrio *in* toro, and of Manlio before *et* used as a trochee by Catullus in his Glyconic stanzas. Sit suo similis patri Manlyo *et* facile omnibus Noscitetur ab insciis, 59; and in the same poem hodiē has the last syllable *dye* open and short, Concubine hodye atque heri. In those stanzas the elision of any long vowel except i is rigidly excluded, and the exclamation io, which occurs frequently is yo, and the lines cannot be scanned otherwise, Yō Hȳmēn Hȳmĕnæĕ yō. In his Sapphics Horace elides o doubtful in dubito *an* Catonis 1. 12. 35; and o long in Latio (yo) *im*minentes 1. 12. 53. ferro *et* 3. 27. 47; præceps Anio *et* 1. 7. 13, is in an hexameter. The first of those is the only instance I observe of an elision before *an*, but an, ac, and aut, would fall under the same principle as et, being monosyllabic conjunctions. The only elisions of long e are of me and te thrice, conforming to the same rule, Seu te *in* remoto 2. 3. 5. Virtute me *in*volvo 3. 29. 55. and apud me *est* 3. 29. 5. In like manner a long i cannot be cut off, (except in a supernumerary syllable after the Alcaic cæsura of which there is one instance) unless by est, et, or a preposition, and the instances of such elisions are rare in Horace, though Catullus admitted in the Glyconic verse the elision of the i without those limitations, as domini hortulo and domini audiens, though he cut off no other long vowel except in the supernumerary syllable as marito Ista non eadem licent. The

instances in Alcaics are cordi *est* 1. 17. 14. ærata triremi *et* 3. 1. 39. Vis consili *ex*pers 3. 4. 65. prætulit utili *et* 4. 9. 41. besides the supernumerary syllable in invisi horrida Tartari 1. 34. 10, and Vidi ego civium which (vidi ego being in sense the same as vidi alone and the i pronounced like an English e) became Vidyego. In Glyconics muneris hoc tui *est*. It may be observed, that the Horatian Glyconic begins with a spondee and ends at pleasure with a Cretic or dactyle; the Catullian begins with a trochee admitting the spondee occasionally, and terminates with a Cretic of which the last syllable must never be open. The Catullian stanza always ends with a Pherecratian verse having a final spondee or trochee of which the last syllable may be open. It is very possible that in an investigation of this kind, some elisions may have escaped my notice, but the principle is clearly established; and a view of the Epodes, in which the rule is more stringent, will make it more evident. In the Carmina *no elision of a long a, or u, or of a diphthong, or of a long e* (*excepting in te and me before est or a preposition*) *takes place. In the permitted elisions of the long i and long o, before est, et, or a preposition, two things are to be remarked,* that Ut tuto ab atris is the only instance of a long vowel cut off in the third syllable of the Alcaic, Vis consili expers in the first line of the stanza and Cum populo et and Farre pio et in the last are the only instances of such elision in the fourth syllable; and that all the rest are *either of the second syllable, or the last, or of the supernumerary syllable after the cæsura,* excepting the three cases of io, or yo open, in the latter part of the verse, after the manner of Manlio

and Tyrio in Catullus. The only elisions by est are *at the end of the verse or of the first portion of it,* the est belonging to the preceding word, in the same manner as ego to vidi preceding it, so that Farre pio est veneratus aram would not be admissible. *In the Epodes there is,* I may assert, *no genuine elision of any long vowel or diphthong,* except one of an i before an i, the two coalescing in sound, (for the English reader must recollect that they were spoken like an English e) Stoici *inter* Sericos 8. 15. There is one line which I cannot hesitate to pronounce corrupt, Nullâ expiatur victimâ 5. 90. When it is observed that no long a is elided in the Epodes or Carmina, and that the ex is a superfluous burthen to the metre and sense, I trust that in future editions the text will be properly restored, Nullâ piatur victimâ, the more common prosaic word having been a marginal gloss which has crept into the text. In the Epodes Horace uses Esto 8. 11. and Quando 9. 1.: with the o long, modo 2. 23. like ego with the o short. and cuts off the short o of modo twice, 17. 70 and 71, and of ego once 17. 74. and the doubtful o of ergo before aut 2. 9. and of sortitò before *ob*tigit 4. 1. He uses Threicio Aquilone with the o open and and long after the Greek manner in an hexameter 13. 3. The only remaining instance is one of io or yo, Suavio *op*ponat tuo, where the diphthong yo is open and short, as in flagitio, medio and ingenio in the Carmina. In the same manner he uses inferyus 5. 79. mulyerculam 11. 34. and laquèo 2. 35. where ferius, mulier, and laqueo, are iambics and could not be admitted by the metre as trisyllables, and alvèo as a spondee 3. C. 7. 28. It may be here mentioned, that, although a quadrisyllable is admitted, very rarely, at the

beginning of the Alcaic verse, as Carthagini jam and Maturior vis, it cannot occur in the third verse unless it ends with a short syllable elided by a monosyllabic conjunction, Funalia et, Decurrere *et*, Rubiginem *aut ;* even Cibaria *ex*ple in the first verse and Proh curia *in*versique mores are cut off by a preposition. I apprehend that ad ultimas Decurrere oras, or Decurrere Ægeas ad oras would be inadmissible. The reason probably was that in pronouncing compound words the Romans interposed a semipause after the preposition as they did between the double l, mol-lis, pronouncing both.

Dismissing the elisions I come to the final syllable of lines. Catullus in his hendecasyllables has about 19 lines with a final m and 15 with a short vowel open; Horace about 38 of the two in his Epodes; they were there admitted by both with perfect freedom. I have already said they were rigidly excluded by Catullus in Glyconics, but freely admitted in the Pherecratian verse at the end of the stanza. His Sapphic law is this; the two first lines end with a spondee admitting no open vowel, the third with a spondee or trochee (though that distinction may be accidental) but no open vowel; in the fourth or Adonic verse (as in the final Pherecratian) the last syllable was long or short, and might be open if a full stop followed, and it admitted the elision of a long o before est at the end. In the superfluous syllable at the end of the Sapphic he admitted the elision of i, as he did in Glyconics. Horace copied him at first in admitting a short vowel open at the end of the Adonic in four instances 1. 12. 40; 2. 6. 10; 2. 8. 8; and 3. 26. 36; but always with

a full stop following. There is no instance of a short vowel open in Horace at the end of a Sapphic verse; there are only three of m; vitiis iniquum Ocyor aura 1. 2. 47; generat leonum Arida nutrix 1. 22. 15; both in the first book, and in the place where Catullus used the final trochee; and potentem Oppidis Cretam 3. 27. 33; in the third book, written at a period of his life, when he made peculiar innovations, which he afterwards renounced. Imminentûm Oscinem in the same ode is not applicable, the um being contracted for ium. In the long Choriambic or Asclepiad I find one open m, verticem Arcanique fides 1. 18. 15. In the common Asclepiad two in the first book and one in the third, hospitam, *In*grato. 1. 15. 2; hospitem, *In*dignoque 3. 24. 60; lilium. Omnes 1. 36. 16; where a full stop intervenes. There is one instance of a short vowel, transiliunt vada. Audax; but audax, preceded by a full stop, is printed by Mr. Tate entirely in capitals, I believe on the authority of MSS. the subject dividing there into two parts. In the short Choriambic verse I find Perdere cur apricum Oderit 1. 8. 3; and in the Dactylic tetrameter Plurimus in Junonis honorem Aptum 1. 7. 8; both in the first book. In Alcaics the following occur. In the first book amica *Op*probriis 1. 16. 27; Dis pietas mea *Et* musa cordi est 1. 17. 14; æquor Atlanticum *Im*pune 1. 31. 14; cupidinem *Im*mitis uvæ 2. 5. 9; caducum *In* domini caput 2. 13. 11; ignis Ætnam. *In*continentis 3. 4. 76; fugiente solem. *At* 2. 9. 12; with a full stop intervening, but sed should probably be substituted for At as in the last previous Alcaic ode Sed me per hostes. All the above conform with the stated rule as to the admitted elisions,

at, if correct, being a monosyllabic conjunction. Sparsisse nocturno cruore Hospitis 2. 13. 7; and timuitque mortem. Hic 3. 5. 36, depart from it, but both are before an aspirate, and a full stop intervenes in the last. There is nothing in these few instances, that should encourage a modern writer to admit any short syllables open, when he considers that Horace utterly rejected this practice, as well as the elision of o, in his later book and returned to the Catullian rule of only eliding a long i, and that only twice; and in the C. seculare and the Sapphics of the last book he did not even allow a long vowel or diphthong open at the end of the Sapphic or even the Adonic, and in the Alcaics only once admits a final o open in a parenthesis, and once a diphthong. It is an error to suppose that an Alcaic verse ends with a dactyle; the last syllable should be preferably long; the use of it short weakens the Alcaic and Sapphic and should be admitted sparingly. Two words ending with short a are very objectionable; I believe Horace has only three such in Alcaics, et vaga flumina 1. 34. 9; impia prælia 2. 1. 30; longa negotia 3. 5. 53; and in Asclepiads lucida sidera 1. 3. 2; monstra natantia, 1. 3. 18; *none in the last book.* I stated in the preface to the Musæ Etonenses A.D. 1795, that the third verse of the Alcaic stanza could not end with a trisyllable and enclytic ve, que, or ne; the rule is equally applicable to the whole stanza. The only instances of a final enclytic in Alcaics are five attached to a disyllable at the end of the third verse, geluque 1. 9. 2; gravesque 2. 1. 3; caretque 3. 29. 23; probamque 3. 29. 55; geretque 4. 4. 67. There are two final enclytics in Asclepiads amaraque and turaque. It is even

objectionable to use an enclytic at all in the last half of the verse; I observe only metaque fervidis 1. 1. 4. and bellaque matribus 1. 1. 24. in Asclepiads, tectaque Penthei 2. 19. 14, regnaque tristia, 3. 4. 46, and albaque populus 2. 3. 9 in Alcaics; *none in the last book.* Mr. Tate has mentioned that Horace rejected in the later odes the use of two final disyllables, as well as a quadrisyllable, at the end of the third verse of the Alcaic stanza. It may be added that three final disyllables cannot be used in two consecutive lines at the beginning of the stanza, nor in any line after two disyllables in the first half, and that four consecutive disyllables should be avoided. The remarkable instance of dura navis, Dura fugæ mala, dura belli, as well as Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico are evidently departures from rule to express in the first case labour, in the second the disorder of drunkenness, and the effect was of course enhanced by the music.

I may take this opportunity to add a few observations on the pentameter verse. Mr. R. Bland has cited a line ending with sedens from Propertius as an instance of an objectionable termination of the verse with a participle, adding, but who would not prefer the authority of Ovid to that of Propertius? The fact however is that there are several such terminations in Ovid, which Propertius more scrupulously avoided. Ovid restricted the metre by very rarely admitting any but disyllabic words at the end, and in general he excluded adjectives except the pronouns meus, tuus, and suus, which recur even to satiety. The result was a sameness in his verse which would be disgraceful to a school-boy; not only couplets very frequently occur together with the same termi-

nation, but often three out of five consecutive couplets, and in one passage five out of eight, end with the same word. He seems to have sought excuses for breaking his own rule; idem was perpetually admitted in the character of pronoun; reus sometimes stood substantively, and he took occasion from that to admit it when used as an adjective; the participle nocens rode in upon that privilege as being sometimes nearly analogous, and pius as being the opposite was admitted and became a favourite termination with him. Amans, being sometimes a substantive, was also admitted when governing a case. Dedit and dabam were so frequently used by him that they privileged the participle datum, though he does not I believe ever use satum, ratum, or latum, for which distinction no rational cause can be assigned; but he had so little sense of the need of variety, that the probability is that any terminal word once used by him will recur presently. Propertius in his first books used trisyllablic and quadrisyllabic terminations with objectionable frequency; in his last he was more rigid than Ovid. Tibullus however is the only writer who wrote the Pentameter with perfect taste and judgment; and I consider him to be the sole model for its rhythm. Excepting the possessive pronouns, he rejected all terminal participles and adjectives unless demonstrative, that is such as would be rendered in English with the article *the*, not *a*, as hora sequens, the following or next hour, campos Elysios, the Elysian fields, maris Santonici, the Santonic sea, Deum indigetem, the God of the country, not a native God, &c. These even he admitted rarely, but aware that such an exclusion of final adjectives and participles, coupled with that of words exceeding two syllables,

would make it often impossible to express at all what he might have to say, he admitted final words of more than two syllables cautiously, framing the lines in which they occurred with as much skill as those which ended with the disyllable, and his rhythm is perfect.

Isabel, from the Spanish of Garcilaso de la Vega, with other Poems and translations from the Greek, Italian, &c. &c.—By ROBERT WALPOLE, Esq. *Cambridge.* 1805.

1805.

MR. WALPOLE, as we collect from his preface and the substance of his book, having determined to learn the Spanish and Italian languages, judiciously provided himself with a copy of the Parnaso Español and the London selections of Italian poetry. Esteeming it the best way of mastering those tongues, he immediately began to translate with the assistance of a dictionary; and, being sufficiently pleased with the productions of his pen, he has since committed them to the press. In the title-page is a motto from Tasso, 'Nè leggano i severi i detti nostri.' We are in doubt, whether the author meant by these words to deprecate the severity of criticism, or to warn those, whose delicacy might be easily offended, that his poetry might not be found congenial to their notions of propriety. As the author professed that these translations were made for the purpose of acquiring a thorough know-

ledge of the languages, we conceived that they must, at all events, be faithful copies; and, as such, whether executed with more or less skill, they could not fail of raising some interest. But we find that, when he purchased the Parnaso Español, he received, from the late translators of Anacreon and Camoens, that magic wand which can embellish the simplest productions of ancient writers with rich and voluptuous imagery. Without this assistance, the volume, which is very miscellaneous, might perhaps have worn too motley an aspect; but, as it is, the most perfect uniformity reigns throughout the whole. Greek, Sicilian, Spanish, Italian, French, and German, all appear in the same sparkling uniform, one gay livery of love and pleasure; the same voluptuous smile unbends the brow of the Greek epigrammatist, the Spanish warrior, and the pastoral poet of Zurich. Delighted as we should have been by the perusal of a work, throughout which (to use the author's own expression)

> 'Gay dreams of future bliss our thoughts employ,
> And bathe in deep delight the entranced soul,'—*p.* 25.

we could not see without regret, in this bagnio of delight the venerable Spaniard shorn of his whiskers and polished by a pumice-stone, and the ancients attired in the foppery of modern fashion.

Grateful as such effusions may be to the vitiated taste of many readers, we cannot too strongly deprecate the system, upon which a certain sect of versificators have lately proceeded, of using the respectable character of some old poet, whose name is better known than his writings in England, as a safeguard and recommendation for their own productions, which perhaps might have

otherwise attracted too feebly the notice and admiration of the public. Two evils arise from this practice; that much trivial and sometimes impure poetry is more easily circulated, and that the well deserved reputation of ancient writers is materially injured. We are far from intending to assert, that the volume before us is indelicate; but a voluptuous strain breathes throughout the whole of it, which is not warranted by the original poems. We may venture to assert, that not a line in this publication is faithfully translated from the Spanish; if such an one, indeed, could be found, it would stand like a Doric column in the midst of Gothic fretwork. Many of the best writers of Spain served with reputation in her armies; and the character of her old lyric poetry was, like those of her warriors, stately and magnificent; often empty and pompously prolix; sometimes borrowing epigrammatical conceit from the Italians, but never refined and corrupt. A passage from Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, addressed to Philip the Second, will shew, that they could sometimes reach the highest strains of poetry.

'O si, quando la trompa horrible diere
Señal en los exercitos, y tienda
La roja cruz el viento en las banderas,
Y de la muerte la vision horrenda
[illegible]
Por medio las escuadras y armas fieras,
Su nombre ha de sonar en las primeras
Voces, que diere la Española gente,
[illegible] victoria.'

i. e. literally, 'Or whether (when the horrible trumpet shall give the signal to the armies, and the wind distend the red cross upon the banners, and, wrapt in smoke and dust, the dreadful vision of Death shall hold its course

through the proud squadrons and arms) thy name shall sound amongst the first voices which the Spanish nation shall utter, praying, through thy means, for victory.' Such poetry, though it loses its harmony, cannot altogether lose its energy, in a prose translation. We should rejoice to see the best specimens of Spanish verse transplanted into our language by a skilful hand, which would carefully preserve their peculiarities, without ingrafting on them foreign fancies, or fashioning them after the style of any new school of English poets.

Milton has somewhere observed, that he never could delight in making 'whole traductions;' and indeed (though a good version of a beautiful passage afford great pleasure, because more difficult to execute than original composition, in which the writer follows the bent of his own imagination) the translator of a whole poem is bound in a great measure by the faults of his author. Hence it is too often his fate to receive scanty commendation for the beauties which he may have carefully preserved, (perhaps brought nearer to perfection), and to be stigmatized for defects of the original, which have been more obnoxious to him than to his reader. On this account, several of our most esteemed authors introduced much foreign beauty into their poetry, not by whole traductions, but by appropriating to themselves select passages or extracting some precious thought or expression.

> 'Nare captantes, nec ineleganti,
> Mane quicquid de violis eundo
> Surripit aura.'

Whoever now follows their example, must expect to be assailed by an unmerciful din, as a plagiarist, a hue and

cry which has done perhaps more detriment to the taste of the present age, than any expedient that could have been devised to vitiate it. The beauties of Gray were derived from numberless sources; Pope borrowed with impunity whole lines from Dryden and Milton, Tasso from Petrarca, Virgil from Ennius; the Italians gleaned from each other, and the Spaniards from them, with no sparing hand. The chorus, which is perhaps most beautiful in Tasso's Aminta, 'O bella età de l' oro,' is for the most part altered from the Vendemiatore of Tansillo, a licentious poem, which its author in his graver years attempted to suppress. But a writer of the present day dares not, except in the avowed character of a translator, attempt to perfect the expression of any idea, which has been barely thrown out by another. His attention must therefore be directed to novelty, rather than excellence; and his productions are more likely to be extravagant, than chaste and classical.

A new school of poets has however lately arisen, who have recourse to a happy expedient, to enable them (sacrificing the boast of originality) to make use of the ideas of foreign writers, without submitting to the difficult duties of a translator, who is bound to preserve the thoughts and expressions of his prototype unmixed, and to attend even to his costume. They make choice of some author who has been little read in England; and, borrowing some ideas (perhaps not the leading thought) from his poem, they compress, enlarge, alter, and embellish with amatory expressions, according to their own fancy, preserving little more than the name of their original in the title-page. Mr. Walpole has perhaps surpassed all the writers of this sect in the art of alteration.

Dirnit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis: with him, an elegy is transformed into a sonnet, a pastoral into an ode, and a serious sonnet into a love-song. We imagine that with equal facility, he would translate the Iliad into a tragedy, with an ode or two of Pindar for a prologue and epilogue.

The volume before us commences with a lyric poem entitled Isabel, which is prefaced by the following words;

'The reader is here presented with a translation of the poem of Garcilaso de la Vega, written on the death of Isabel de Freyre, the wife of Don Antonio de Fonseca. It is to be found in the Parnaso Español, vol. 2. in the egloga, in which Salicio and Nemoroso are introduced as the speakers. By the former, Garcilaso himself is represented; by the latter, the husband of Isabel.'

The translator, having probably never seen the works of Garcilaso, could not be expected to know that these were not the only lines which he wrote in honour of Isabel de Freyre; nor the eclogue, from which they are extracted, the only one in which Salicio and Nemoroso are interlocutors; but he might have seen, in that very volume of the Parnaso, that it is by no means certain that Nemoroso represented the husband of Isabel. It has been supposed, that the famous poet Boscan, the friend and companion of Garcilaso, was intended, and that the word was formed from the similarity of his name to bosque, a grove.

In the first book of Boscan's poems (edit. 1576, fol. 40) we find some verses, which are probably addressed to her.

'Senora doña Ysabel,
Tan cruel
Es la vida que consiento,
Que me mata mi tormento,' &c.

The idea that Nemoroso meant her husband, originated with Herrera; but Don Luis Zapata, in his Miscellanea, positively contradicts it, and states that Fonseca had no habits of intimacy with Garcilaso, whose friend Boscan had been the servidor of Doña Isabel before her marriage.

We shall now compare the first lines of Mr. Walpole's poem with the original passage in Garcilaso, of which we shall add a close translation, for the benefit of such of our readers as may not be masters of the Spanish language.

Corrientes aguas, puras, cristalinas;
Arboles, que os estais mirando en ellas;
Verde prado de fresca sombra lleno;
Aves, que aqui sembrais vuestras querellas;
Yedra, que por los arboles caminas
Torciendo el paso por su verde seno;
Yo me vi tan ajeno
Del grave mal que siento,
Que de puro contento
Con vuestra soledad me recreaba;
Donde con dulce sueño reposaba,
O con el pensamiento discurria,
Por donde no hallaba
Sino memorias llenas de alegria.'

i. e. literally, 'Running, pure, crystalline waters! Trees, that behold yourselves reflected in them! Green meadow, full of fresh shade! Birds, that here diffuse your lamentations! Ivy, that climbest the trees bending thy steps along their green bosom! Once I saw myself so foreign to the heavy ills which now I feel, that from pure contentment I recreated myself in your solitude; where I reposed with pleasant slumbers, or discoursed with my thoughts, from which I gathered nothing but recollections full of cheerfulness.'

We shall mark by italics the words in Mr. Walpole's translation which have no warrant in the original; and it will appear how few of Garcilaso's thoughts are expressed in the English stanzas.

'Ye crystal floods, *that lave*
With gently murmuring wave
These banks, where spring its earliest sweets exhales!
Ye *lofty* shades, that show
Within the stream below
Your *broad* boughs *bending to the whispering gales!*

'Ye verdant plains *and groves,*
That Melancholy loves,
Where pours the bird *of night* her softest lays;
Ah, scenes that ever dear
To memory still appear,
For still they paint the joys of former days!'

The four first verses of Garcilaso's stanza are here stretched into nine of Mr. Walpole's lines, and the remaining three stand in lieu of all the rest of it: yet, perhaps, there are few passages in the volume more faithfully translated.

In the last stanza of this poem we observe a remarkable error, which has arisen from the short acquaintance which the writer seems to have had with the Italian and Spanish poets. After saying, that the soul of Isabel treads the *empyreal sky*, which is not mentioned in the Spanish he adds,—

'There in the realms of light
With purest ether bright,
To sounds of bliss our raptured lyres shall wake;
While, crown'd with blushing flow'rs
From never-fading bowers,
Through the third heaven our onward march we take.'

He might as justly have said, that a person standing on the roof of a high building was going up stairs through the third story. If he had been acquainted with the system of philosophy that was adopted by the Italian and Spanish writers of the fifteenth century, and had read a little more of their poetry, he would have known, that the empireo cielo was the highest seat above all the other heavens, and that the third heaven was that of Venus. On this account, it is so frequently mentioned as the abode of departed beauty, that Mr. Walpole's quotation of a line from Ariosto, in which the words terzo cielo occur, was very superfluous. We are informed in the note, that the author has discovered the passage 'since translating the above.' Had he looked into Dante or Petrarca; his discoveries might have been carried a more profitable length.

In p. 16. we find a sonnet translated from Garcilaso. The eight first lines are compressed into four: then follows a voluptuous description, of which we can discover nothing in the Spanish.

> 'Now heaves that bosom with luxuriance high;
> Now beam the thrilling glances from thine eye.'

The next lines in Garcilaso are beautiful; but the close has perhaps too much conceit: they are, however, completely altered in the English.

> 'Coge l de vuestra alegre primavera
> El dulce frato, antes que el tempo ayrado
> Cubra de nieve la hermosa cumbre.
> Marchitarà la rosa el viento elado.
> Todo lo mudarà la edad ligera
> Por no hacer mudanza en su costumbre.'

i. e. literally, 'Gather the sweet fruit of your cheerful spring-time, before the stormy season cover the beauteous brow with snow. The frosty wind will wither the rose. Fickle Time will change every thing, to avoid changing his own custom.'

> 'O heed the moment! pluck the flower of love,
> Or ere it fade and wither in the blast!
> Mark through the glass of Time the swift sands move,
> And age o'er all its darkening mantle cast.
> And when that eye is dimm'd, and wintry snow
> Whitens those clustering locks, Ah! then no more
> Will youths to thee their sighs of passion pour,
> Nor e'er a second spring thy faded beauty know.'

The author might have published these lines as his own, without much fear of being taxed with borrowing from the Spanish. But, besides the departure from the sense, there is a more striking deviation from the metre and structure of the sonnet. The legitimate sonnet is a poem of fourteen equal lines of a certain length, divided by the sense, as well as the rhyme, into two quatrains and two tercets. Some of our old sonneteers introduced, from the worst Italian writers, a spurious form, in which a detached quatrain, followed by a couplet, was substituted for the tercets. Encouraged by this example, some of our later writers have presented the public (under the name of a sonnet) with three elegiac stanzas, concluded by a solitary couplet. Mr. Walpole, commiserating the forlorn situation of this unhappy couplet, has admitted it into the centre of the fabric. In some of his sonnets, it takes precedence of the third stanza: in that which we have quoted, it appears immediately after the first; and the whole is

ingeniously wound up by an alexandrine. As Mr. Walpole has transformed sonnets into songs, and elegies into sonnets, we ought not to be surprised at his disregarding their peculiarities. Indeed, the structure and excellence of this difficult species of composition is not sufficiently understood and valued in this country, to reward a writer for the labour he must bestow on it. Men are naturally inclined to depreciate and ridicule what they have never studied, unless it be of known utility; and many (who ignorantly imagine that all Italian and Spanish sonnets are a monotonous repetition of amatory trifles, because some are certainly so) sneer at the very name of a sonnet, as if it were the most insignificant of compositions. Menzini, however, in his Art of Poetry, observes, that 'the sonnet is the touchstone of great geniuses; a test, which many a poet of considerable eminence must decline, or the base alloy of his verse will be detected. The inaccuracies and faults of a longer work may escape the reader; but, in a sonnet, the smallest flaw casts disgrace upon the whole: the ear is offended, if one rhyme be awkwardly introduced, if the whole do not flow with equal connexion and with harmony, or if the close do not depend neatly upon the subject proposed.' This species of composition, which an excellent writer hath called 'the most exquisite jewel of the Muses,' whether originally invented by the Sicilians or Provenceaux, was brought to perfection by the Italians; and from them we unquestionably received it. With us, however, it has never been completely naturalized. Milton and Gray, who have cultivated it with most success, both drunk from the sweet streams of Italy, where a single sonnet can

give immortality to its author, while the longer poems of his contemporaries are buried in oblivion. But many English poets of later date, seem to have wholly lost sight of its peculiar structure; and the spurious and paltry compositions, which, under that title, have been lavished on the public, have tended greatly to debase the character of that branch of poetry. Its rigid laws cannot be better explained than by the words of Boileau:

> 'Un jour ce Dieu bisarre,
> Voulant pousser à bout tous les rimeurs François,
> Inventa du sonnet les rigoureuses lois;
> Voulut, qu' en deux quatrains de mesure pareille
> La rime avec deux sons frappât huit fois l'oreille;
> Et qu' ensuite six vers artistement rangés
> Fussent en deux tercets par le sens partagés.
> Surtout de ce poëme il bannit la license,
> Lui-même en mesura le nombre et la cadence,
> Defendit qu' un vers foible y pût jamais entrer,
> Ni qu' un mot deja mis osât s'y remontrer.
> Du reste il l'enrichit d'une beauté supreme;
> Un sonnet sans defaut vaut seul un long poëme.'

The subject should, according to the strictest division, be set forth in the first, and illustrated in the second, quatrain; confirmed by the first tercet, and concluded in the last; and much of the excellence of a sonnet will depend upon the beauty of its close, which, without being epigrammatical, should artfully wind up the subject with some striking thought or expression. Such are the laws from which the most esteemed writers have never entirely departed; nor can a sonnet be deemed faultless, which does not in a great degree adhere to them. Gray has observed them scrupulously. Petrarca, Casa, Bembo, and other distinguished poets, often

bestowed the labour of months upon one sonnet; and in later years, Lazzarini and Ghedino were not less industrious. It is said of Bembo, that he had a desk with forty divisions, through which his sonnets passed in succession before they were published; and at each transition they received some correction. Our modern innovators should weigh accurately the grounds of their alterations, before they discard the regulations established by those who most deeply considered their object. The Italians in general possess, perhaps, a nicer ear for poetry, as well as for music, than we do. We have seen it somewhere asserted, that in English sonnets, the established form should not be preserved, because the poverty of our language in rhymes rendered it too difficult, and that it had no peculiar beauty to overrule this objection. To us it appears, that whoever does not perceive the beauty of that structure and division which has been invariably preserved by the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and French writers, must have a very defective ear for poetical harmony.

— 'Non val quella sì magra scusa
Di dir, che troppo rigida è la legge,
Che in quattordici versi sta rinchiusa;
E che mal si sostiene e mal si regge
Per scarezza di rime.'

But we deny that the English language is poorer in rhymes than that of Spain or of Italy. The number of our monosyllables, our final consonants, and the position of our accents, naturally lead us to single rhymes, whilst the Spaniards and Italians almost necessarily use the double; but the correspondence of termi-

nations in English is by no means less suitable to poetical purposes. Many words, indeed, of great value in rhymed verse, we have suffered to grow obsolete, and several of them deserve to be revived. Writers of the present day should rather restore the currency of sterling old terms, than disfigure the language by new coinage. The exclusive veneration with which an Englishman looks to the works of Milton and Shakespeare, has induced him to reject many excellent words that are not sanctioned by their authority; and the imfection of Johnson's dictionary, to which all resort, has in a manner discarded them.

Returning from this digression, which has been caused by the whimsical form of Mr. Walpole's sonnets, we find in p. 19. of the volume before us, a sonnet from the Spanish of Figueroa, which makes its appearance in the shape of four lyric stanzas. The expressions and the metre have nearly equal resemblance to the original. Figueroa writes 'Viene la noche,' the night comes, which is thus translated.

'The pearly car of eve
In silver radiance rides on high.'

The translator, indeed, seems greatly enamoured of the sun and moon; in the concluding stanza, 'El sol descubre su rostro,' the sun discovers his face, is rendered,

'The golden morn appears,
And blushes in the etherial plain.'

The original, consisting of fourteen long lines, and the English of sixteen short ones, of which four are occupied by golden blushes and pearly chariots, it may

be readily conceived, that the substance of the sonnet is altogether omitted. Had Francisco de Figueroa written thus he would never have acquired the surname of El divino, which he bore, as well as Fernando de Herrera.

In page 14, we meet with a translation from Gessner. The characteristic mark of his poetry, and indeed of all his works, is simplicity; but even the purest breeze from the pastures of Switzerland is polluted by the voluptuous refinement of his translator. The sixth stanza is addressed to a zephyr

> 'Da flattert um ihr weiches bett,
> Und weckt das schönste kind;
> Mit sanftem spiel auf ihrer brust,
> Und ihrer sussen mund.'

i. e. 'Then flutter round her soft bed, and awake the lovely maid: playing gently on her breast, and her sweet mouth.' These lines are simple and beautiful, but they have been thus vitiated by the translator:

> 'Pant o'er her lip and cheek's bright hues,
> And heave upon her heaving breast.'

We think the original composer of loose and voluptuous poetry deserves some censure; but he who thus stains the innocent writings of another, is still more reprehensible.

This volume contains several pieces said to be translated from the Greek anthology. In every line of them, we meet with 'golden locks,' or 'eyes of liquid blue;' 'vermeil cheeks,' and 'rising hills of snow;' 'ardent wishes, circling arms,' and 'impassioned sighs.' Mr Walpole informs us that he should have printed the

Greek lines, if he had had time to examine again the Anthologia. We believe indeed that, if the author has forgotten which verses he had intended to translate, the originals could not be again discovered without a long and difficult search.

The volume closes with six Alcaic stanzas, which are said to be translated from Petrarca's 'Chiare, fresche, e dolci acque;' and indeed the two last lines, though borrowed from Horace, remind us of one in that canzone. If the author had seen a very elegant translation of this poem, in Glyconic verse, by M. Antonio Flaminio, he would probably not have published these stanzas, which are the only Latin poetry in the volume. To our surprise we find, at the end, a postscript in Latin. Mr. Walpole's female readers will probably imagine that it contains some thing, which it was thought fit to veil from their eyes; but we can assure them that the author merely laments therein the depravity of human nature, and informs us, mysteriously, that he has undertaken some work of greater moment, 'quod e re literariâ magis erit;' and that he has suppressed certain Greek poems (with which he had thoughts of favouring the public), because nothing ought to be submitted to their most fastidious judgment which has not been turned frequently on the anvil, and wrought with the greatest industry. The poems we have reviewed were, it seems, in his estimation, sufficiently hammered, filed, and polished. We are ignorant whether the author clothed these sentences in a dead language, to give a specimen of his Latin prose, or because he wished them to be mysterious and φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσιν only.

We cannot close this article without observing, that from the general facility and harmony of his verse, Mr. Walpole appears to possess talents, which deserve to be better cultivated and better directed. If he will translate faithfully, or follow entirely his own imagination; he will easily attain that respectable literary character, which we have every reason to think his abilities entitle him to challenge. Though we have expressed our disapprobation of the system pursued in this publication, we can assure him that we are very far from wishing to place his talents in an unfavourable light; but are most desirous of redeeming them from the vicious school, into which he seems to be initiated. We wish to see him stand upon his own ground; and had rather he would move wherever his own genius may conduct him.

We will quote some stanzas translated from Kleist, which will prove that Mr. Walpole can write with elegance.

'O thou, who through the silent air
Dost sail on fragrant pinion by;
Say, Zephyr, hast thou seen my fair?
And dost thou waft to me her sigh?

And ye, clear streams, as on ye flow,
From me the lovely maiden greet;
And murmuring whisper all my wo,
Whene'er your waters kiss her feet.

O say that, since she sped her flight
From these sad scenes, so gay before,
Nature is robed in saddest night,
And wears her wonted charms no more.

Ah where does she delight to stray?
What plains with her loved presence smile?
Where does the dance her limbs display?
Where does her voice the hours beguile?'

Les Saisons de J. Thomson. Traduites en vers Français, par J. Poulin, *A. Paris*, 1803.

1806.

We are aware, that it is almost as dangerous an attempt to criticise a foreign work of taste, as to write in a foreign language. It would be presumptuous to grapple with a native in grammatical criticism; and, therefore, in the few observations which we are about to make upon this publication, we shall not advert to any expressions which may appear to us verbally inelegant or exceptionable; nor do we pledge ourselves that the passages we may have occasion to praise, might not be successfully assailed by the nibbling tooth of a French academician. In that respect, we desire to remain neutral; in every other, we claim the right of judging as decidedly as any Frenchman whatsoever. The general relations, which a translation bears to the original work; the comparative harmony of its metre and periods; the beauties which may have been overlooked or inserted; the expressions and ideas which may have been strengthened or weakened, enriched or impoverished, accurately preserved or perverted, are open to the observation of those who may not possess that nice verbal and grammatical discrimination, which in every country is the distinct birthright of the natives. At least we stand upon a level with French critics of English productions; their language has more regularity than ours; and perhaps we have a clearer perception of the translation, than they could have of the original.

We have seen few translations that have given us more satisfaction than the volume before us. Upon the whole, without being unfaithful, it is, perhaps, an improvement on the original. Many of those brilliant and masterly expressions have indeed been overlooked, which are scattered here and there like gems, in the poetry of Thomson: but the general heaviness and encumbrance of his style has been relieved, without any material deviation from his leading thoughts and expressions. The person is the same: the dress not absolutely changed, but better adjusted.

One of the most striking faults in Thomson's versification, facilitated the translation of his Seasons into rhymed verse. Sometimes, indeed, his periods take a wider sweep: but, for the most part, he is contented with blank couplets, interspersed with now and then a triplet, or a broken connecting verse. His lines are not absolutely bachelors; but he rarely admits polygamy in his versification. We quote an instance near the commencement of his Spring:—

> 'To check this plague, the skilful farmer chaff
> And blazing straw before his orchard burns;
> Till all involved in smoke his latent foe
> From every country suffocated falls:
> Or scattered o'er the blooms the pungent dust
> Of pepper, fatal to the frosty tribe:
> Or, when the convolved leaf begins to curl,
> With sprinkled water drives them in their nest:
> Nor, while they pick them up with busy bill,
> The little tuneful birds unwisely scares,' &c.—v. 127.

These lines are undoubtedly blank poetry, but they have not its peculiar character; and the ear is disap-

pointed at the end of each couplet by the failure of rhyme, which the translator has the advantage of restoring. The objection to rhyme is the restraint which it throws on the fluency of periods; but Thomson has injudiciously sacrificed the ornament without profiting greatly by the liberty. Some expressions in his description of Lavinia have great beauty; but the whole bears the appearance of having been written with rhymes, and afterwards *done* into blank verse; and here the French poetry has some advantage, we think, over the original.

'L'aimable Lavinie avoit, dès son enfance,
Des caprices du sort éprouvé l'inconstance.
Sa fortune jadis avoit eu des amis :
Mais, perdant tout-a-coup des biens mal affermis,
Et dans le monde entier n'ayant rien plus de reste
Que sa seule innocence et la bonté celeste,
Dans une humble cabane, au milieu des détours
D'un vallon solitaire, elle couloit ses jours ;
N'ayant pour tout appui que celui d'une mère,
Qui trâinoit ses vieux ans au sein de la misère.
Là, dans l'insouciance et le contentement,
Loin du cruel mépris du vulgaire insolent,
Ensemble elles vivoient des dons de la nature,
Au sein de la retraite et d'une vertu pure ;
Ne songeant qu'au présent, semblables aux oiseaux,
De qui le chant charmoit leurs champêtres travaux.
La jeune Lavinie étoit comme la rose
Sons les pleurs du matin nouvellement éclose,
Et l'ensemble parfait de sa rare beauté
De la neige, ou d'un lis, avoit la pureté.
Les vertus éclatoient dans ses regards timides
Sur les nuissantes fleurs lançant leurs traits humides ;
Ou bien, lorsque sa mère entamoit le récit
Des biens que la fortune antrefois lui promit,
Comme l'astre du soir, ses yeux remplis de larmes,

Dans la nuit du chagrin prenoient de nouveaux charmes.
Une grace native et de simples atours
Voiloient de son beau corps les aimables contours ;
Car, pour plaire et toucher, l'amabilité pure
Dédaigne le secours d'une vaine parure,
Et brille d'autant plus qu'elle a moins d'ornemens.
Sans connoitre le prix de ses attraits charmans,
Sans connoitre le beau, c'etoit la beauté même
Dérobant aux regards sa puissance suprême.
Comme l'on voit le myrte au pied des Appenins
Exhaler son parfum loin des yeux des humains,
Loin d'un monde imposteur la tendre Lavinie
Passoit obscurément le printems de sa vie.' &c.

Another glaring defect in the work of Thomson was beyond the translator's power to remedy; we mean, that singular incoherency which pervades the whole poem. The author seems indeed to have thought, that the introduction of the word Now was a sufficient link to connect subjects most widely separated by nature. For instance, after more than a hundred and thirty lines upon the golden age, the depravity of modern times, the deluge, and the Pythagorean predilection for vegetables, he suddenly transports his reader to the side of a trout-stream, equipped with rod and line.

'Now when the first foul torrent of the brook,' &c.

Again, after a long address to Lord Lyttleton, he abruptly breaks off with

Flush'd by the spirit of the vernal year,
Now from the virgin's cheek,' &c.

This is a radical defect, which could not have been removed or lessened, without making considerable alterations and additions.

The third important error in Thomson's style is the

laboured, pedantic, and injudicious phraseology, which frequently destroys the effect of ideas most happily conceived and skilfully detailed. Mr. Poulin has displayed his good taste, by softening such sentences into more reasonable language, and at the same time preserving the thoughts and images with sufficient fidelity. Passages of this nature occur so often, that the whole poem assumes a more cheerful complexion in the translation. The lines have passed again through the furnace; and the dross, which adhered to them, has fallen off; but the pure metal remains unaltered. This observation will be easily comprehended, by comparing a few lines of the translation with those of Thomson. Speaking of the deluge, he says,

> 'And o'er the high-piled hills of fractured earth
> Wide dash'd the waves in undulation vast;
> Till from the centre to the streaming clouds
> A shoreless ocean tumbled round the globe.'

> 'Aussitôt à sa voix les ondes elancées
> Engloutirent les monts sous leur masse pressées;
> Et jusque dans son centre, avec force entr' ouvert;
> D'un océan sans bords le globe fut couvert.'

And afterwards,

> 'By Thee the various vegetative tribes,
> Wrapt in a filmy net and clad with leaves,
> Draw the live ether and imbibe the dew.
> By Thee disposed into congenial soils
> Stands each attractive plant, and sucks, and swells
> The juicy tide; a twining mass of tubes.
> At thy command the vernal sun awakes
> The torpid sap, detruded to the root
> By wintry winds; that now in fluent dance,
> And lively fermentation, mounting, spreads
> All this innumerous-colour'd scene of things.'—v. 559.

'C'est toi qui fais mouvoir cette âme végétale,
Qui puise dans l'air pur une force vitale.
Dans la terre, par toi, des sucs élaborés
Circulent à l'envi par la plante attirés :
A ta puissante voix, la sève ranimee
N'est plus dans ses canaux par le froid renfermée ;
Elle court : elle emplit mi le tubes divers,
Et de mille couleurs embellit l'univers.'

The last verse is very preferable to the original. We may here add a few lines from the Autumn, in which the superiority of the French is also conspicuous.

——— 'United thus
The exhaling sun, the vapour-burden'd air,
The gelid mountains, that to rain condensed
These vapours in continual current draw,
And send them, o'er the fair-divided earth
In bounteous rivers to the deep again,
A social commerce hold, and firm support
The full-adjusted harmony of things.'—v. 826.

'Ainsi tous les brouillards qui s'élèvent dans l'air,
Les frimats, dont on voit les monts se surcharger,
Les subtiles vapeurs que le soleil attire,
D'une commune loi reconnoissent l'empire ;
Se condensent en pluie, et, du globe humecté
Nourissant la fraîcheur et la fertilite,
Coulent en clairs ruisseaux, ou superbes rivieres
Qui rendent à la mer leurs ondes nouricières ?
Et sans cesse eprouvant des changemens divers
Entretiennent les loix, l'ordre de l'univers.'

It is somewhat singular that the French version and the English edition now before us consist alike of 139 pages: the French has 29 lines, the English 25, to the page. The proportion is pretty fair; the ornament of rhyme renders it necessary, in many instances, that a line and half of the English should fill two in the trans-

lation; and Mr. Poulin does not appear to have been unnecessarily diffuse. Indeed, the only point on which we are inclined to find much fault with the translator, and think that he has not done justice to the English, is, that, in his progress through a long poem, he has trodden under foot many of the little inestimable jewels, which sparkled in his way. To these, however, we think that the original author is in a great measure indebted for the popularity which he still maintains. The mass of his poetry is fatiguing and gloomy: but now and then a sudden ray breaks in upon the reader, and gives him momentary delight; some singular felicity of expressions, that glitters perhaps in a single line. For instance, in the description of English beauty, (Summer, 1586).

——— 'The parting lip,
Like the red rose-bud moist with morning dew,
Breathing delight.'

This exquisite expression is completely lost in the French.

——— 'Les lys et les roses
Ensemble confondus sur vos lèvres mi-closes.'

Again in the description of a thunder-storm,

——— 'The clouds
Pour a whole flood; and yet, its flame unquench'd,
The unconquerable lightning struggles through.'—v. 1145.

'Tandis que les éclairs, à travers l'horison,
Du pôle à l'equateur roulent en tourbillon.'

The courtship of birds (Spring, 615), is perhaps one of the passages which will best exemplify Thomson's

minute observations of nature and accuracy in description. We shall quote the concluding lines.

> 'They brisk advance: then, on a sudden struck,
> Retire disordered: then again approach;
> In fond rotation spread the spotted wing,
> And shiver every feather with desire.'

> ——— 'Prendre un rapide essor,
> S'approcher, s'éloigner, puis revenir encor;
> Faire briller à l'œil l'émail de son plumage,
> Et parler de l'amour le plus tendre langage.'

The last verse in the English is so exquisitely descriptive, that it would be alone sufficient to repay the reader for a whole page of dulness; but Mr. Poulin has let it pass unheeded, and given us paltry commonplace in its stead. It is to be regretted, though not perhaps to be wondered at, that where Thomson was unusually fortunate in his expression, the translator fails of success. Perhaps, though not original, the lines on the nightingale ('Oft when returning,' &c. Spring, 715), are the most perfect in the Seasons; but their beauty is completely lost in the translation. Were we inclined to be severe, we might certainly cite some instances of loose and faulty translation, and some sentences in which the sense has been a little misapprehended. Ast opere in longo fas et obrepere somnum. In one passage, we observed lilies rendered lilas. The occasional introduction of a superfluous verse for the sake of rhyme, though it occurs rarely, is to us more offensive. After describing the artifices of birds to decoy the spaniel from their nests, Mr. Poulin adds,

> 'Sans cet art, leur famille aurait cessé de vivre.'

The observation may perhaps be just: to Thomson,

however, it appeared superfluous, and it is directly at variance with his style, which does not admit, at the close of a paragraph, a detached remark comprised in a single line. We have stated upon a former occasion, 'that a translator is bound to preserve the thoughts and expressions of his prototype unmixed, and to attend even to his costume.' We are far from intending, however, that the expressions must be rendered verbally, or that nothing may be added to the original conceptions. On the contrary, it is the clear and necessary right of a poetical translator to alter, to enlarge, and to compress; for the same combination of words that forms good metre and good poetry in one tongue, will not succeed in another; the expressions, which are respectable and harmonious in the original, may prove mean and unpleasing in the language of the translator: but it is his duty not to render a dignified and manly style weak and florid, or a tender harmonious lamentation vigorous and abrupt; it is his duty, whenever he finds it necessary to interweave additional ideas or epithets, to study that they be in unison with the tone of the original poetry. In this the display of his skill must consist, for literal traduction is work of drudgery; true poetical translation the greatest exertion of the taste and judgment. To exemplify this strongly, we shall cite a couplet from a modern production, which styles itself a translation. The original words are, 'Brachia lucebant,' her arms shone, which are thus rendered:

> 'Her arms in marble lustre shone,
> And lucid glories danced along.'

We should by no means have desired a literal inter-

pretation of the two Latin words; and if the translator had modified the expression, or even coupled with it some new image, which accorded with the simplicity of the original, we should not have quarrelled with his alteration: but here no thought is added; the couplet only gives us to know that the arms did shine: but the thought is arrayed in a garb so fantastical and ridiculous, that its features can be scarcely recognised.

On the other hand, where Thomson, speaking of the first efforts of young birds, says that they

> 'Demand the free possession of the sky,'

we are delighted with Mr. Poulin's variation, which preserves the idea, with expressions better suited to his own language, without falsifying the style.

> 'Et leur [illegible] nouvelle audace,
> Les vastes [illegible] ils mesurent l'espace.'

We shall close this article with some extracts from the French, which may be considered as favourable specimens of Mr. Poulin's style: and we trust they will prove acceptable to our readers.

> 'Dans ces temps [illegible] l'aube à peine naissante
> [illegible] les [illegible] la fan[illegible] incertaine:
> [illegible] leur sommeil.
> [illegible] comme le soleil,
> [illegible] la nature,
> [illegible] la culture,
> [illegible] au sein de leurs troupeaux.
> [illegible] leurs travaux:
> [illegible] la danse, l'allegresse
> [illegible] de la noble sagesse;
> [illegible] des vrais plaisirs,
> [illegible] enfant exhalait ses soupirs,

Et n'inspiroit aux cœurs que cette douce peine,
Que ce tendre interêt qui fait chérir sa chaine.' p. 11.

The whole description of the effects of love upon mankind is incomparably good; we can only quote a part of it.

'Toi, sur-tout, crains l'amour, jeune homme audacieux,
Crains le charme trompeur d'un œil insidieux:
Penses-tu dans ton sein rappeler la concorde
Lorsqu'un torrent de feu sur ton cœur se deborde?
Helas! il n'est plus temps—Tel qu'un songe léger,
L'honneur n'est plus pour lui qu'un voile mensouger;
Il méconnoit sa voix, et la froide sagesse
S'enfuit, s'évanouit, pour toujours le délaisse.
Mais cependant son cœur, de désirs agité,
Se plonge en une mer de fausse volupté,
Lui peint un doux sourire, une grace touchante,
Les superbes contours d'une taille elegante,
Les palpitations d'un beau sein amoureux,
L'irresistible attrait d'un regard langoureux;
Et l'attrait plus puissant d'un œil tendre, modeste,
Qui, recélant l'enfer sous un rayon céleste,
Va bientôt le livrer au plus affreux tourment.
Son oreille n'entend que le gazouillement,
Que les tendres accens d'une voix de syrène,
Qui sur un bord perfide et l'appele et l'entraine,
Et jette à-la-fois dans un goufre d'erreur.
Près de l'objet aimé, dans le sein du bonheur
Nonchalamment couché sur un lit de mollesse,
Les sens ensevelis dans une douce ivresse,
Au milieu des parfums, des vins les plus exquis,
Des sons harmonieux qui flattent ses esprits,
Le serpent du remords vient soulever sa crète;
Il se sent tourmenté d'une angoise secrète;
L'honneur, l'ambition, par un fréquent retour
Contre lui révoltés l'irritent tour-à-tour.
Mais, dans l'absence, ô ciel! que de maux fantastiques
Viennent remplir son cœur de tourmens chimériques!
Abreuvé de sanglots, d'amertumes nourri,

Violent par accès, par accès attendri,
Il est pâle, défait, et la melancholie
Desséche dans son sein les sources de la vie.' ——
'Tandis que du désir les rapides élans
Le transportent au lieu qu'embellit son amante.
Il penche sur son sein et sur sa bouche absente ;
Il sent errer son âme : égaré par l'amour,
Il soupire, languit sans espoir de retour.
Revenu d'une erreur si charmante, si chere,
Il revoit à regret le jour qui nous éclaire ;
Il court chercher des bois la sombre profondeur
Qui seule sympathise avec son tendre cœur.
Là, près d'un noir torrent qu'une forêt antique
Embrasse en ombrageant sa chute romantique,' &c.—p. 39.

We may add the following character of the English nation :

'Durcis par le travail, tes valeureux enfans
S'exercent à braver les dangers menaçans :
Parmi tes pavillons ils fixent la victoire,
Et sur les vastes mers portent loin la gloire.
Cette gloire s'accroit, quand de l'heureuse paix
Leur esprit éclairé calcule les effets.
Vertueux par nature, et fiers de leur genie,
Des autres nations ils excitent l'envie ;
Ils sont sincères, bons, hospitaliers, aimans,
Mais plus prompts que la foudre ils frappent les tyrans ;
Et le foible opprimé trouve en leur bienfaisance
Un vengeur de ses maux et de son innocence.'

It is rather surprising, that the censors of Napoleon have allowed these lines to be printed and read at Paris.

Poulin, having received a surgeon's education, was employed in Buonaparte's expedition against St. Domingo, and died there.

The Plays of Philip Massinger, with Notes critical and explanatory. By W. Gifford, Esq. 4 vol. 8vo. London.

1808.

It rarely happens that any person, who has indulged himself in severe reflections and dogmatical assertions on various subjects, can pass through life without occasionally running foul of some of his own sentences. The first work that brought Mr. Gifford's talents into public notice was the Baviad and Mæviad; a production which certainly displayed genius; but written in a style of satire so harsh and overbearing, that if the corrupt taste, which was spreading itself rapidly over the country, had not loudly called for animadversion, the public mind would probably have been disgusted by its asperity.

The general object and aim of his satire was praiseworthy; but some passages seemed rather to have been dictated by moroseness, than by the fair spirit of enlightened censure. Of that nature we think the attack upon the harmless, if not laudable, amusement of Mr. Kemble, who collected old plays, which would otherwise in a few years have been lost for ever.

> 'Others, like Kemble, on black-letter pore,
> And, what they do not understand, adore;
> Buy at vast sums the trash of antient days,
> And draw on prodigality for praise.

'Though no great catalogue-hunter, I love to look into such marked ones as fall in my way. That of poor Dodd's books amused me not a little. It exhibited many

instances of *black-letter mania ;* and, what is more to my purpose, a transfer of much trash of antient days to the fortunate Mr. Kemble. For example, First part of the Tragicall Raigne of Selimus Emperour of the Turks, £1. 11s. 6d.' &c. &c. *Baviad, v.* 192.

For our part, we beheld with pleasure a distinguished actor expending a part of the hard-earned profits of his profession, in forming a collection, which may be beneficial to the stage. The generality of mankind are apt to squander their money in a manner much less reputable to themselves, or advantageous to the public. It is probable that most of the old dramas, which form his collection, may have little intrinsic merit, that many even may be replete with the most ludicrous absurdities, but their importance arises from the assistance which they may afford in illustrating the obscure, the unintelligible, the corrupt passages of the best contemporary writers; and we conceive that, when Mr. Gifford undertook his edition of Massinger, he must have repented him of that attack upon Mr. Kemble, not only as unmerited, but as precluding himself from the advantage of consulting his collection; a liberty which would otherwise in all probabliity have been willingly granted, if not voluntarily offered. That Mr. Gifford has felt the impropriety of that censure, we infer from the very high value which he now sets upon antient dramas; from the harshness with which he has handled Lord Lansdown, in the notes to his introduction, for *not having printed* three manuscript old plays, which probably few persons would have purchased, and fewer read; and from his calling Mr. Warburton *a fool*, for permitting his collection to be destroyed by the neglect, or rather by the officiousness

of a servant. We must quote a part only of this long note, for we cannot afford space for all the invective that follows; but we think that those who will declaim at different times on both sides of a question, might at least assume a milder tone. 'When it is added that, together with these, 40 other manuscript plays of various authors were destroyed, it will be readily allowed that English literature has seldom sustained greater loss than by the strange conduct of Mr Warburton, who, becoming master of those treasures which ages may not reproduce, lodges them, as he says, in the hands of an ignorant servant; and when, after a lapse of years, he condescends to visit his hoards, finds that they have been burnt, from an economical wish to save him the charges of more valuable brown paper! It is time to bring on shore the book-hunting passenger in Locher's *Navis Stultifera*, and exchange him *for one more suitable to the rest of the cargo.* Tardy, however, as Mr. Warburton was, it appears that he came in time to preserve three dramas from the general wreck;—the second Maid's tragedy, the Bugbears, and the Queen of Corsica. These, it is said, are now in the library of the Marquis of Lansdown, where they will probably remain in safety till moths or damps or fires mingle their forgotten dust with that of their late companions. When it is considered at how trifling an expense a manuscript play may be placed beyond the reach of accident, *the withholding it from the press* will be allowed to prove *a strange indifference* to the antient literature of the country.' &c.

We regret, indeed, that these three plays were withheld (if so they were) from Mr. Gifford's examination; we regret that Mr. Kemble's library was closed against

him by his own impetuosity, on account of the benefit which might otherwise have accrued to his edition of Massinger. Under all these disadvantages, however, Mr. Gifford has certainly produced a valuable edition of these dramas. That of Coxeter was very incorrect; and the idle liberties which Mr. Mason had taken in altering the text of Massinger, and overturning the metre, were very numerous; and it required considerable acuteness and attention to restore it to its original purity. This, however, has been in a great degree effected by Mr. Gifford's diligence in collating the text with the oldest editions, that had been altogether neglected by Mason.

We are sorry, nevertheless, that it is not in our power to bestow the unqualified praise of accuracy, even upon this editor; who has fallen sometimes into errors, which should have made him more lenient to the mistakes of those who preceded him in this undertaking: and we regret that, instead of aiming at the fair fame which he might have gained by the production of a very improved edition, he should have made his notes the vehicle of satirical animadversions upon the former editors, and appear to have been more anxious to exhibit the absurdities of other writers, than to enrich his publication with annotations which might have been useful to the reader.

It would be difficult to bring together more errors than are contained in the following note by Mr. Gifford; and they are the more striking as the note is almost superfluous.

> 'In those three memorable overthrows
> At Granson, Moat, Nancy, where his master,
> The warlike Charalois, lost treasure, men and life.'

'These were indeed memorable, since they were

given by *ill-armed and undisciplined rusticks* (invigorated indeed, by the calm and fearless spirit of genuine liberty) to *armies superior to themselves in numbers*, and composed of regular troops from some of the most warlike nations in Europe. The overthrow of Granson, took place, March 3rd, 1476: that of Morat, June 22nd in the same year; and that of Nancy, January 5th, 1477. In this Charles (or, *as he is called from the Latin, Charalois*) Duke of Burgundy fell.'

How would Mr. Gifford have handled Coxeter or Mason, if they had written, *The battle of Agincourt, gained by Henry (or as he was called from the Greek* ἁλισκω, *Wales) king of England?* Charolois, however, which Mr. Gifford confounds with the Latin Carolus, was a county subject to the Duke of Burgundy, and the title of Comte de Charolois was borne by Charles till the death of his father in 1467, when he succeeded to the dukedom. The historical statement is not less inaccurate. Mr. Gifford had a general impression that the Swiss were vigorous rustics, and had struggled boldly for their liberty; and, without referring to the particulars of their contest with the Duke of Burgundy, he has passed this unmerited eulogy on their victories. In this instance, they cannot properly be said to have contended for liberty, excepting inasmuch as the liberty of any belligerent would be endangered by failure, as they were the first aggressors; and Charles gained no important advantages over them, if we except the capture of Granson, which was quickly wrested from him.

'Vouloit ledit Duc laisser reposer son armée, qui estoit fort defaite, tant a canse de Nuz, que par ce peu de guerre de Lorraine, et le demeurant vouloit il envoyer

en garnison, en aucunes places du Comté de Romont comme auprès des villes de Berne et Fribourg ansquelles il vouloit faire la guerre, tant pour ce *qu'ils la lui avoient faite*, estant devant, Nuz, qu'aussi *pour avoir aidé à lui oster la Comté de Ferrete*, et parce qu'ils avoient osté au dit Comte de Romont partie de sa terre.' *Phil. de Comines, liv.* 5. c. 1.

Secondly, the statement of the relative forces, is directly contrary to the account given by the same very credible writer, who says that he had the circumstances from those who were present. At the battle of Granson, the Swiss army was inferior in numbers, but strongly posted. The Duke ill-advisedly advanced to dislodge them. The van, being unexpectedly attacked by the Swiss, was ordered to fall back; and the body of the army, mistaking their retreat for flight, was thrown into confusion, and fled without having been engaged. The Duke lost only 700 men; but his reputation suffered greatly. His own allies fell from him; and the forces of the old league and the new confederacy of Basle, Strasbourg, &c. were joined by those of the Duke of Lorraine, and the imperial towns of Francfort, Nuremberg, &c. At the battle of Morat, the confederates were *superior in number, well equipped, and stronger in cavalry.* We quote again the same author.

'Les dits alliez, comme il fut dit par ceux, qui y estoient, pouvoient bien estre 31,000 hommes de pied, bien choises et bien armez, (c'est à scavoir 11,000 piques, 10,000 hallebardes, 10,000 couleurines) et 400 hommes de cheval.'—'Le duc de Lorraine arriva vers les dites alliances peu d'heures avant la bataille et avec peu de gens.'

He afterwards states, on the authority of the Prince de Tarente, who saw the Duke of Burgundy's army counted while it was passing a bridge, that it was well equipped; but it consisted of only 23,000 regulars, besides artillery, and those who attended the baggage.

'Qu'il avoit compté et fait compter l'armée en passant sur un pont, et y avoit bien trouvé 23,000 hommes de soulde, sans le reste qui suivoit l'armée et qui estoit pour le fait de l'artillerie.'

The Duke lost in that action 8000 of the regular troops. We now come to the battle of Nancy. The allies were in force, and the Duke's army, discouraged by defeat, and reduced to less than 4000 men, of which not above *twelve hundred* were effective. He gave battle in a fit of desperation, and was slain.

'J'ay entendu par ceux qui le pensoient sçavoir, qu'ils n'avoient point en l'ost quatre mille hommes; dont il n'y avoit que douze cens en estat pour combattre.'—'Le duc choisit le pire, non obstant toutes les remonstrances qu'on lui avoit faites *du grand nombre des Alemans*, qui estoit avec ledit Duc de Lorraine, et aussi de l'armée du Roi, logée prés de lui; et conclud la bataille, *avec ce petit nombre de gens epouventez* qu'il avoit.'

We have dwelt upon this note, because we are always anxious to maintain historical truth; and because we cannot better exemplify the haste and inaccuracy with which Mr. Gifford sometimes appears to write. It seems, from a note in vol. 4. p. 167, that he must have printed the first volumes, before he had even read through the author he was editing.

'This expression reconciles me to a passage in the Parliament of Love, vol. 2. p. 291, of which, though

copied with my best care, I was extremely doubtful. *It now appears*, that Massinger uses *candour*, in both places, as synonymous with *honour*.'

We are far from wishing to reproach Mr. Gifford with mistakes, to which men of genius, who write from recollection, are frequently liable; but it is our duty to repeat, and to urge strongly for his consideration in future, that those who can trespass on the public with such inaccuracies, should be very careful not to attack those who have preceded them with bitterness of language and harsh reprehensions. Indeed in some passages, Mr. Gifford appears to have been irritated by so strong a spirit of impatience and anger against Coxeter and Mason, that we are inclined to think, if either of those unfortunate editors had been within his reach, he might have closed his arguments like George a Green, in an anonymous old play,

> 'And for greater proof
> Give my man leave to fetch for me my staff;
> I'll prove it good upon your carcases.'

From almost every page in Mr. Gifford's edition, it appears, that his constant aim has not been simply to rectify what was inaccurate, to cast aside what was superfluous, and to add what might be necessary or useful for the information of the reader, but to build his own reputation on the ruin of that of his predecessors. This object is pursued with such assiduity, that he frequently falls into the very error which he would reprobate in them. For instance, in the Duke of Milan, we find this note.

'Scarabs, means beetles. *M. Mason.* Very true; and beetles means scarabs.' Vol. 1. p. 279.

Some unlearned readers might perhaps be thankful for Mr. Mason's explanation; but, if it was superfluous, how much less edifying must it be with such an additional comment! Again, under the line Enjoying one that but to me's a Dian, we find,

'Dian, a contraction for Diana. *M. Mason.* And so it is.' Vol. 1. p. 315.

We, who well know what a Soland goose is, were surprised at finding that the former editor had not made it clear to Mr. Gifford's apprehension, that a whiting-mop was not a bird of that plumage and savour, when he declared it to be "a sort of fish so called." We find the following note by Mr. Gifford, to a line in the Guardian. '*A whiting-mop* (says their editor) *is a sort of fish so called!* but whether it is a *seal*, or *soland goose*, he does *not* determine. And so notes are written! a whitingmop is a young whiting.' Vol. 4. p. 202.

We may adduce another instance from the Virgin Martyr.

'As *angels* were no part of the Pagan theology, this should *certainly* be augel; from the Italian augello, which means a bird. *M. Mason.* It were to be wished that critics would sometimes apply to themselves the advice which Gonneril gives to poor old Lear; *I pray you, father, being weak, seem so;* we should not then find so many *certainties.*'—'In Mandeville, the barbarous Herodotus of a barbarous age, there is an account of a people (probably the remains of the old Guebres) who exposed the dead bodies of their parents to the fowls of the air. They reserved however their sculls, of which he says the son 'letethe make a cuppe; and thereof drynkethe he with gret devocioun, in remembrance of

the holy man that the *aungeles of God* have eaten.' By this expression (says Mr. Hole), Mandeville possibly meant to insinuate that they were considered as sacred messengers. *No, surely;* aungeles of God was synonymous in Mandeville's vocabulary to fowls of the air.' Vol. 1. p. 36.

We believe that many of our readers will disagree with that assertion, and think the harsh *assurance* of one editor nearly as objectionable as the quiet *certainty* of the other. Instances are however adduced, which prove Mr. Mason's correction to have been unnecessary and improper: and, indeed, throughout the whole work, Mr. Gifford deserves great commendation for restoring the text which had been injudiciously altered.

With respect to the word chuff, Mr. Gifford says, 'it is *always* used in a bad sense, and means *a coarse unmannerly clown*, at once sordid and wealthy.' That is a mistaken interpretation; the word, if ever, has not always that signification. In Decker's Hon. Wh. *Fustigo* says, 'Troth, sister, I heard you were married to a very rich chuff. *Viola.* I am married to a man that has wealth enough, and wit enough. *Fustigo.* A linen-draper, I was told, sister. *Viola.* Very true, a grave citizen. I want nothing that a wife can wish from a husband.'—Afterwards, speaking of him, *Pioratte* says, 'He, according to the mildness of his breast, entertained the lords, and with courtly discourse beguiled the time as much as a citizen might do.' We believe that the word has much more affinity to *citizen* than to *clown.*

In the Bondman (Scene 1), we find a proper interpretation of Mason's rejected with scorn as unintelligible.

"He's a man of strange and reserved parts."

'Strange here signifies distant. *M. Mason.* I do not pretend to know the meaning of distant parts. Massinger, however, is clear enough. Strange and reserved in his language, is strangely (i. e. singularly) reserved.' Vol. 2. p. 8.

If Mr. Gifford had found leisure even to open Johnson's Dictionary, (though a phrase so common ought perhaps to have been familiar to him), he would have seen under the word *strangeness*, that explanation which he could not *pretend* to furnish; (viz. 'uncommunicativeness, distance of behaviour; remoteness from common manners or notions, uncouthness.') And he might have read sundry quotations from Shakspeare, which we think it unnecessary to cite, for the purpose of showing that Mason's interpretation, though perhaps superfluous, was perfectly accurate.

Mr. Gifford's irritation against the former editors, displays itself curiously in his note to a line in the Renegado; where, by an improper alteration of *caroch* into *coach*, the metre had been disturbed.

'If the reader would have a specimen of what can be done by a nice ear in editing an ancient poet, let him cast an eye on this line, as it stands in Coxeter and Mason. "Her footmen, her coach, her ushers, her pages." Tumtiti, Tumtiti,' &c. Vol. 2. p. 133.

As Ennius has used 'taratantara' for the sound of a trumpet, Mr. Gifford may perhaps be justified for expressing by 'tumtiti,' his sense of the error committed by the editors of Massinger. But looking upon this as a natural and involuntary exclamation, which had been forced from him by the exquisite sensibility of his ear, we were surprised at discovering that the gentlemen,

who have been thus rebuked, might in other passages retort the 'tumtiti' upon Mr. Gifford with equal propriety. We will cite an instance from the City Madam, in Mr. Gifford's edition.

> '*Hoyst.* I now repent I ever
> Intended to be honest.
> (*Enter Luke*) *Serj.* Here he comes
> You had best tell so.
> *For.* Worshipful Sir,
> You come in time to free us from these bandogs.'

To which we find the following note—

'Mr. Mason reads, "Here he comes; You had best *him* tell so." His false pointing made his barbarous interpolation necessary. The old copy is evidently right.' Vol. 4. p. 85.

Mr. Mason made the interpolation solely for the purpose of supporting the metre which was defective; and Mr. Gifford's metrical sensibility must have quite deserted him, when he asserted that a dramatic verse hobbling with only nine syllables, was evidently right. There is undoubtedly an error in the passage, for Massinger is never deficient in his metre, which was very artificial, and, in his comedies, is particularly superabundant in unaccented syllables; but Mr. Mason's interpolation is by no means satisfactory, The inversion is harsh, and does not accord with the author's style; and the words *Here he comes*, cannot stand well without a reference. Perhaps Massinger had written, 'Here he comes *That* you had best tell so.' In the very next scene, we find 'Here he comes *that* can best resolve you.'

We will produce from the same play a passage in which Mr. Gifford has been guilty of an interpolation

not less objectionable and more injurious to the sense; imagining that a foot was wanting to make the metre perfect, which does not appear to be the case.

> "*Secret.* Dead doings, daughter.
> *Shav.* Doings! sufferings, mother:
> [For poor] men have forgot what doing is,
> And such as have to pay for what they do,
> Are impotent as eunuchs."

'A foot is lost in the original. I have substituted the words between brackets, in the hope of restoring the sense of the passage.' Vol. 4. 49.

The sense, which was by no means dubious, is rather injured by the interpolation; and the construction is not improved by connecting the sentence with the foregoing exclamation. A simple attention to the division of the lines would have rectified the metre.

> Dead doings, daughter.—Doings? Sufferings!
> Mother, men have forgot what doing is.

Mr. Gifford has rectified many passages, in which the metre was absolutely destroyed by an improper division of the lines in Mason's edition; but, notwithstanding the indignation he displays upon such occasions, he has left many portentous lines, which might have been easily reduced, by the same process, within proper dimensions. For instance, in the Bashful Lover—

> 'I would we were so rid of them.
> *Oct.* Why?
> *Goth.* I fear one hath
> The art of memory and will remember.'

'One hath' should be the commencement of the second.

I would we were so rid of them. Why? I fear
One hath the art of mémory and will remember.

In the City Madam we encounter this formidable verse.

'I once held you an upright honest man. I am honester now.'

'*I once held you*' ought to have been printed as the conclusion of the foregoing line. Though burthened by the addition, it will come within the rules of Massinger's comic metre, which (as we before said) is purposely superabundant in unaccented syllables; a liberty which he adopted in imitation of the comic iambics, that admit anapæsts, and dactyles. The lines will stand thus,

'You are very peremptory, pray you stay: I once held you
An upright honest man. I am hónester now.'

We could adduce many instances to show that the first verse, as we propose to read it, is conformable to Massinger's rules of comic versification. One line of similar structure will be sufficient.

'And punish overtake him | which he least | expects | it.'

We have said that this structure of verse is artificial, and not arising from negligence, because he affects that extraordinary abundance of unaccented syllables in the comic parts, as diligently, as he avoids it in the tragedies and more dignified parts of his comedies. Few writers appear to have attended more to their versification than Massinger: and however inharmonious such lines may be esteemed, their metre has been perhaps as studiously arranged as the most melodious lines of his finer passages.

These observations, upon Massinger's usual manner of accenting his verse, lead us to propose the alteration of a single word in a corrupt passage in the Unnatural

Combat, where Mr. Gifford is desirous of interpolating a whole line.

> 'But if we find, as most believe, he hath held
> Intelligence with his accursed son,
> Fallen off from all allegiance, and turn'd
> (But for what cause we know not) the most bloody
> And fatal enemy this country ever
> Repented to have brought forth; *all* compassion
> Of what he was, or may be, if now pardon'd,
> We sit engaged to censure him with all
> Extremity and rigour.' 1. p. 137.

For *all*, Mr. Mason reads *no*, which is scarcely an English construction—certainly not such English as Massinger would have written. Mr. Gifford proposes to retain "all compassion," and to insert "Of his years pass'd over, all consideration." This, however, is too great an addition to be made without authority; and we think unnecessary. As far as we have observed, when *forth* is added to a verb, it throws the accent on *forth*; as in Massinger, 'Thus hollowly break fórth'—'Put fórth an inch of taper,' &c.; and, imagining that *all* was a mistake of the printer's, whose eye might have been fixed on the words "with all" in the verse below, we propose to read *without compassion*; which will restore the sense and the metre, according to the author's manner.

The strange inaccuracies of Mason, and his capricious deviations from the original text, might have furnished sufficient grounds of animadversion to satisfy an editor of moderate gall; but Mr Gifford could not make himself comfortable, without travelling out of the record to censure sundry other worthies, for the sake of a little

[illegible]

[illegible] When the text does not furnish him with facilities for [illegible] extravagances, a quotation from any [illegible] perhaps not very apt, is sufficient [illegible] the extravagant censure. In [illegible] When an a quotation is introduced [illegible]

[illegible] family.
[illegible]

[illegible] the following observations written [illegible] has justly observed, without [illegible] satire, and with a due sense [illegible] an ancient writer into [illegible]

I [illegible] personal satire, nor do I [illegible] an ancient author into a libellist, [illegible] of his descriptions to modern characters; yet I must, for once, be indulged in saying, that [illegible] every word here delivered applies so forcibly to [illegible] that it requires some evidence to believe that [illegible] were written nearly two centuries ago. To lessen the wonder, however, it may be observed, that, from the days of Dr. Rant to those of Dr. D——n, that description of men, who, letting God alone, ascribe to nature more than her share, have been commonly *lascivious, petulant, and obscene buffoons.*' 4. p. 262.

In the passage just quoted, Mr. Gifford has made it so evident to the public that he writes with every disposition to courtesy and gentleness, and that whatever may appear bitter in his observations is attributable to that irresistible impulse by which the effect must follow the cause, that we shall dismiss altogether this part of

our subject; and proceed to the more pleasing task of commendation, where we think it may be fairly bestowed.

We have already said that Mr. Gifford deserves high praise for the diligence with which he had restored the text to its original purity, by discarding the alterations and interpolations of the former editors. In whatever emendations he has proposed, the strictest attention has been paid to the style of the author; whereas Mason's alterations perpetually sin against it. His explanations of antiquated words are for the most part accurate and useful; and, in some instances, he has determined the meaning of expressions, which had not been heretofore properly understood. We shall quote two notes by Mr. Gifford, which we think will give satisfaction to our readers.

"*In way of youth* did I enjoy one friend."

'There is no passage in Shakspeare on which more has been written than the following one in Macbeth.

"I have lived long enough; my *way of life*
Is fallen into the sere and yellow leaf."

'For *way of life*, Johnson would read *May of life;* in which he is followed by Colman, Langton, Steevens, and others; and Mr. Henley a very confident gentleman, declares, that he "has now no doubt that Shakspeare wrote *May of life*," which is also the "settled opinion" of Mr. Davis! At a subsequent period, Steevens appears to have changed his opinion, and acquiesced in the old reading, *way of life*, which he interprets, with Mr. Mason, "course or progress," precisely as Warburton, whom every *mousing owl hawks at*, had done long before. Mr. Malone follows in the same track; and if the words

had signified what he supposes them to do, nothing more would be necessary on the subject. The fact however is that these ingenious writers have mistaken the phrase, which is neither more nor less than a simple periphrasis for *life*; as *way of youth* in the text is for *youth*. A few examples will make this clear.

> "If that when I was mistress of myself,
> And in my *way of youth*, pure and untainted,
> The Emperor had vouchsafed," &c. Roman Actor.

i. e. in my youth.

> "[illegible]
> [illegible] *way of justice*." Thierry and Theodoret.

i. e. your justice.

> "[illegible] for the *way of death or life*,
> I will [illegible] sharpest blow." Pericles.

i. e. for death or life.

> "If all the art I have, or power can do it,
> He shall be found, and such *a way of justice*
> Inducted on him." Queen of Corinth.

i. e. such justice. "Probably," say the editors, "we should read *weight* of justice; *way* is very flat!"

> "If we can wipe out
> The *way of your offences*, we are yours, Sir." Valentinian.

i. e. your offences. "To wipe out *the way*," the same editors again remark, "seems a strange phrase; *stain*, we apprehend, will be allowed a better word: yet we should not have substituted it," (they actually foist it into the text), "had we not been persuaded that the old reading was corrupt!" And thus our best poets are edited!' &c. Vol. 4. p. 304.

We can only quote the latter part of an excellent

note, explanatory of the expressions *cry aim* and *give aim*, which appear to have been greatly misunderstood. Coxeter had proposed to read, *cry, Ay me!* in the following passage.

> "While you cry aim,
> Like idle lookers on.' *Bondman*, p. 27.

Mr. Gifford explains, that to *cry aim* was to *encourage*, to *give aim* to *direct*.

'Those who cried *aim!* stood by the archers; he who gave it was stationed near the butts, and pointed out, after the discharge, how wide or how short the arrow fell of the mark. An example or two will make all this clear.

> "It ill becomes this presence to *cry aim!*
> To these ill-tuned repetitions." *King John*.

i. e. to encourage.

> "Before his face plotting his own abuse,
> To which himself *gives aim*:
> While the broad arrow with forked head
> Misses his brows but narrowly." *A Mad World my Masters*.

i. e. directs.

> "Now to be patient, were to play the pander
> To the viceroy's base embraces, and *cry aim!*
> While he by force," &c. *Renegado*.

i. e. encourage.

> "This way I toil in vain, and *give* but *aim*
> To infamy and ruin; he will fall;
> My blessing cannot stay him." *The Roaring Girl*.

i. e. direct them.

'Standyng rather in his window to crye aime! than

helpying any waye to part the fraye. *Fenton's Tragical Discourses.* i. e. to encourage.

'I myself gave aim thus, &c. *Middleton's Spanish Gypsie.* i. e. directed.' Vol. 2. p. 27.

We regret that Mr. Gifford has not offered to the public his own particular observations on the several plays of Massinger, which (although, like most editors, he is too partial to his author) we should have deemed highly interesting; for we have much respect for Mr. Gifford's talents and discernment. Instead of meeting with such gratification, we are annoyed, at the end of every drama, by certain dull dissertations from another hand.

We quote a specimen of the observations on the Fatal Dowry, the joint production of Field and Massinger, from which the Fair Penitent of Rowe was stolen without any acknowledgment. After stating, that it is doubted which passages should be attributed to Field, and which to Massinger, the writer adds,

'I pass with pleasure from this *uninteresting inquiry* to a great moral, which, after all the discussion bestowed upon this play, is as yet fresh and untouched. Charalois slew an offending wife, and the partner of her crime, with his own hand, and was himself slain. Vengeance belongs to Heaven: and, by the Divine will, the administration of it, for mortal purposes, is vested in the laws. To revenge our own cause, is to despise the seat of justice, and the order of Providence; and to involve ourselves in guilt, and the punishment of it. Virtue must employ only virtuous means in the coercion of vice itself. Her injuries will therefore wait upon the laws; for in the very forms of justice there is virtue.' 3. p. 475.

On the Virgin Martyr he observes –

'Certainly there is too much horror in this tragedy. The daughters of Theophilus are killed on the stage. Theophilus himself is racked; and Dorothea is dragged by her hair, kicked, tortured, and beheaded. Its popularity must therefore, in a considerable degree, be attributed to the interest occasioned by the contrary agencies of the two spirits; to the glorious vision of the beatified Dorothea, at the conclusion of the piece, and the reappearance of Angelo in his proper character, with the sacred fruits and flowers from the heavenly garden, and the crown of immortality for Theophilus.' 1. p. 124.

We are surprised that Mr. Gifford should have condescended to print this passage; which would undoubtedly have excited his spleen, if it had fallen from Coxeter or Mason. We shall only observe, in the words of Mr. Gifford, that the glorious vision of the beatified Dorothea, 'with the poor helps of which the stage was then possessed, must have been somewhat worse than ridiculous.'— 'Such was the poverty of the stage' (we again quote Mr. Gifford), 'that it admitted of little variety. A plain curtain hung up in a corner, separated distant regions; and if a board were advanced with Milan or Florence written upon it, the delusion was complete, A table with pen and ink thrust in, signified that the stage was a counting-house; if these were withdrawn, and two stools put in their places, it was then a tavern. Instance of this may be found in the margin of all our old plays, which seem to be copied from the prompter's books.' Introd. p. 76. We imagine, for our part, that the Virgin Martyr was probably indebted for much of its popularity to the very absurdities and ribaldry from which a

modern audience would have most revolted; and in some degree, to the fine passages which are intermixed with such horrors and obscenity, and must have had a powerful effect on the hearers.

It is not our intention to enter minutely into the merits of Massinger's writings: they are valuable enough to have deserved an accurate edition, but we have neither leisure nor inclination to discuss them in detail. Mr. Gifford will perhaps be offended at the little ceremony with which we treat his favourite dramatist. It is natural for men to imbibe a strong partiality for whatever has particularly occupied their attention. In painting, in music, in almost every artificial amusement, a certain degree of habit and skill is necessary for the discernment of real beauties; and it cannot be surprising, that the constant exercise of that factitious skill, applied to an individual object, should lead to a false perception of imaginary beauties. Hence it perpetually happens, that, after the assiduous contemplation of any object, the mind attaches itself to what it has minutely investigated, and gradually learns to sympathize with that from which it would have at first revolted. Had we, instead of reviewing Mr. Gifford's production, toiled, like him, through a laborious collation of the text of the several editions, we should doubtless be more tender of Massinger's dramatical reputation. But although we are inclined from these considerations to attribute the excessive praise which Mr. Gifford has lavished on Massinger, not so much to a faulty taste, as to an overweening fondness for the companion of his studious hours, we cannot but express our astonishment at some instances in his work of what we deem most unmerited appro-

bation. In a note on the Renegado, Mr. Gifford says, 'There is a passage in Tomkis's Albamazar, which would be admired even in the noblest scenes of Shakespeare,

> 'How slow the day slides on! when we desire
> Time's haste, he seems to lose a match with lobsters;
> And when we wish him stay, he imps his wings
> With feathers plumed with thought.' 2. p. 227.

We are not less at a loss to discover that pre-eminent beauty in the following passage, which should have called for such unqualified commendation as Mr. Gifford bestows upon it.

> 'But wherefore came you in divided troops,
> As if the mistresses would not accept
> Their servants' guardship, or the servants slighted
> Refuse to offer it? You all wear sad looks:
> On Perigot appears not that blunt mirth
> Which his face used to promise; on Montrose
> There hangs a heavy dullness; Cleremond
> Droops e'en to death, and Clarindore hath lost
> Much of his sharpness; nay, these ladies too,
> Whose sparkling eyes did use to fire the court
> With various inventions of delight,
> Part with their splendour. What's the cause? form whence
> Proceeds this alteration?'

'Let me call the reader's attention to the exquisite melody of this speech: nothing is forced, nothing is inverted. Plainness and simplicity are all the aids of which the poet has availed himself; yet a more perfect specimen of flowing, elegant, and rhythmical modulation is not to be found in the English language.' 2. p. 244.

Massinger, in our unprejudiced (though perhaps mistaken) opinion, is an eloquent writer; but an indifferent

dramatist. His comedies have no wit; his tragedies no propriety. In his Bondman (one of the best) Pisander the Theban disguises himself as a slave, and contrives to be sold to the father of Cleora of Syracuse, whom he loves in secret. When Timoleon has drawn forth all the force of Syracuse against an invading enemy, Pisander, for the sake of shewing his own continence to his beloved Cleora, excites the slaves who remained in Syracuse to revolt, and in pure good humour to dishonour all the wives and daughters, and scourge all the fops, who were left behind in the city. At the end of the play, when Timoleon returns with the army, Pisander, who is known to have been the mover of the rebellion, having discovered his name and quality, receives Cleora for his bride with the good-will of all the Syracusans; and the facetious outrages committed by his followers are passed over lightly, as having been a wholesome lesson to the proud dames of Sicily.

There is not, according to the best of our recollection, a single pathetic scene in all the writings of Massinger; there is not a passage, amidst all the butchery which he displays, that can draw a tear of sympathy from the audience; and he appears to have been conscious of his inability to represent a tender emotion, which he has scarcely ever attempted. In the Unnatural Combat, a tragedy in which every horror that the mind can imagine has been accumulated, and which is by no means destitute of terrific beauties, two opportunities offered themselves for the representation of the deepest emotion and distress, and both are completely neglected. The one where Theorine hears that her father has killed her brother in single combat: the other, where Belgarde

finds his beloved Theocrine (who had been dishonoured by a ruffian, and turned out half naked in a tempestuous night) lying dead beside her father. A more dreadful scene cannot be conceived; but the only observations of Belgarde on the occasion are as follows:

> 'All that have eyes to weep
> Spare one tear with me. Theocrine's dead.'

And afterwards.

> 'Here's one retains
> Her native innocence, that never yet
> Call'd down Heaven's vengeance.'

With those few words from Belgarde, and a dry moral from his father, the play concludes. An author, who could dismiss such circumstances of distress, without aiming at a single expression of emotion, must have felt himself incompetent 'to ope the sacred source of sympathetic tears,' and have shrunk from the attempt. 'The gates of horror' he has set wide open.

Massinger's talents appear to have been better fitted by nature for heroic than dramatic writing: he excels in dignified scenes; he describes both character and passion with skill; but is unable to give them appropriate language and expression: he is eloquent, indeed, in every species of description; but his flowing, stately periods, are perhaps too lofty for the stage, and contribute to render his plays heavy and wearisome to the reader; while those of Beaumont and Fletcher, with equal faults, are far more diverting. We shall quote a few passages as specimens of Massinger's eloquent language.

> 'They have drawn together
> Two royal armies, full of fiery youth;

Of equal spirit to dare, and power to do:
So near entrench'd, that 'tis beyond all hope
Of human counsel they can e'er be sever'd,
Until it be determined by the sword
Which hath the better cause: for the success
Concludes the victor innocent, and the vanquish'd
Most miserably guilty. How uncertain
The fortune of the war is, children know;
And, it being in suspense, on whose fair tent
Wing'd Victory will make her glorious stand,
on cannot blame the Duke, though he appear
Perplex'd and troubled.' 1. p. 240. *Duke of Milan*.

'This beauty, in the blossom of my youth,
When my first fire knew no adulterate incense,
Nor I no way to flatter but my fondness;
In all the bravery my friends could show me,
In all the faith my innocence could give me,
In the best language my true tongue could tell me,
And all the broken sighs my sick heart lent me,
I sued and served: long did I love this lady,
Long was my travail, long my trade to win her:
With all the duty of my soul I served her.'
4. p. 315. *A Very Woman.*

The Virgin Martyr, which was the joint production of Decker and Massinger, and contains more horrors, more absurdities and obscenity, than most of these dramas, affords perhaps as many fine passages as any other; and the difference between the style of Decker and Massinger, is in many parts very distinguishable. Decker is less fluent and stately, has more of conceit, and admits occasional rhymes. The following scene, between Dorothea and the attendant angel, is evidently from the pen of Decker, and written in his best manner.

'*Dor.* My book and taper.
'*Angelo.* Here, most holy mistress.

'*Dor.* Thy voice sends forth such music, that I never
Was ravish'd with a more celestial sound.
Were every servant in the world like thee
So full of goodness, angels would come down
To dwell with us: thy name is Angelo,
And like that name thou art: get thee to rest,
Thy youth with too much watching is oppress.

'*Ang.* No, my good lady, I could weary stars,
And force the watchful moon to lose her eyes
By my late watching, but to wait on you.
When at your prayers you kneel before the altar,
Methinks I'm singing with some quire in heaven,
So blest I hold me in your company.
Therefore, my most loved mistress, do not bid
Your boy, so serviceable, to get hence,
For then you break his heart.

'*Dor.* Be nigh me still, then;
In golden letters down I'll set that day,
Which gave thee to me. Little did I hope
To meet such worlds of comfort in thyself,
This little pretty body, when I, coming
Forth of the temple, heard my beggar boy,
My sweet-faced godly beggar boy, crave an alms,
Which with glad hand I gave, with lucky hand!
And when I took thee home, my most chaste bosom
Methought was fill'd with no hot wanton fire,
But with a holy flame, mounting since higher
On wings of cherubims, than it did before.

'*Ang.* Proud am I, that my lady's modest eye
So likes so poor a servant.

'*Dor.* I have offer'd
Handfuls of gold but to behold thy father;
I would leave kingdoms, were I Queen of some,
To dwell with thy good father; for, the son
Bewitching me so deeply with his presence,
He that begot him must do't ten times more.
I pray thee, my sweet boy, show me thy parents;
Be not ashamed.

'*Ang.* I am not; I did never
Know who my mother was; but by yon palace,

Fill'd with bright heavenly courtiers, I dare assure you,
And pawn these eyes upon it, and this hand,
My father is in heaven.' &c. 1. p. 32.

After the death of Dorothea, who is tortured and beheaded on the stage, Theophilus, the brutal instrument of Dioclesian's persecutions, is converted to Christianity by the sound of celestial music, and the reappearance of the attendant angel. The words of Angelo to Theophilus are very impressive.

'*Angelo.* Fix thy foot there,
Nor be thou shaken with a Cæsar's voice,
Though thousand deaths were in it.'

The scene that follows between Dioclesian and Theophilus, is undoubtedly Massinger's; and we cannot quote a better specimen of his eloquence.

'*Diocl.* Why, they (i. e. the Roman Dames) did die,
Theophilus, and boldly;
This did no more (i. e. Dorothea.)
'*Theoph.* They out of desperation,
Or for vain-glory of an after-name,
Parted with life: this had not mutinous sons,
As the rash Gracchi were; nor was this saint
A doating mother, as Cornelia was:
This lost no husband, in whose overthrow
Her wealth and honour sunk; no fear of want
Did make her being tedious; but aiming
At an immortal crown, and in His cause
Who only can bestow it, who sent down
Legions of ministering angels to bear up
Her spotless soul to heaven; who entertain'd it
With choice celestial music, equal to
The motion of the spheres; she, uncompell'd,
Changed this life for a better. My lord Sapritius,
You were present at her death: did you e'er hear
Such ravishing sounds?
'*Sapr.* Yet you said then 'twas witchcraft
And devilish illusions.

'*Theoph.* I then heard it
With sinful ears, and belch'd out blasphemous words
Against his Deity, which then I knew not,
Nor did I believe in him.

'*Diocl.* Why, dost thou now?
Or darest thou, in our hearing—

'*Theoph.* Were my voice
As loud as is his thunder, to be heard
Through all the world, all potentates on earth
Ready to burst with rage, should they but hear it;
Though hell, to aid their malice, lent her furies;
Yet I would speak, and speak again, and boldly,
I am a Christian, and the powers you worship
But dreams of fools and madmen.

'*Max.* Lay hands on him.

'*Diocl.* Thou twice a child! for doating age so makes thee.
Thou couldst not else, thy pilgrimage of life
Being almost past through, in this last moment
Destroy whate'er thou hast done good or great.
Thy youth did promise much; and, grown a man
Thou madest it good, and with increase of years
Thy actions still better'd; as the sun
Thou didst rise gloriously, kept'st a constant course
In all thy journey; and now, in the evening,
When thou shouldst pass with honour to thy rest,
Wilt thou fall like a meteor?' 1. 113.

We shall now quote the description of the characters of the son and father in the Unnatural Combat.

'I have sat with him in his cabin a day together,
Yet not a syllable exchanged between us.
Sigh he did often, as if inward grief
And melancholy at that instant would
Choke up his vital spirits; and now and then
A tear or two, as in derision of
The toughness of his rugged temper, would
Fall on his hollow cheeks, which, but once felt,
A sudden flash of fury did dry up;
And laying then his hand upon his sword,
He would murmur, but yet so as I oft heard him,

We shall meet, cruel father, yes we shall;
When I'll exact, for every womanish drop
Of sorrow from these eyes, a strict account
Of much more from thine heart.—
—Yet what makes
The miracle greater, when from the maintop
A sail's descried, all thoughts that do concern
Himself laid by, no lion pinch'd with hunger
Rouses himself more fiercely from his den,
Than he comes on the deck: and there how wisely
He gives directions, and how stout he is
In his executions, we to admiration
Have been eye-witnesses. Yet he never minds
The booty when 'tis made ours; but, as if
The danger in the purchase of the prey
Delighted him much more than the reward,
His will made known, he does retire himself
To his private contemplation; no joy
Express'd by him for victory.' 1. 146.
'I have known him (i. e. the father)
From his first youth, but never yet observed,
In all the passages of his life and fortunes
Virtues so mix'd with vices; valiant the world speaks him,
But with that bloody; liberal in his gifts too,
But to maintain his prodigal expense,
A fierce extortioner; an impotent lover
Of women for a flash; but, his fires quench'd,
Hating as deadly.' 1. 272.

The following passage from the Old Law, which was the joint work of Massinger, Rowley, and Middleton, is eminently beautiful; though it may be questionable whether the lines should be attributed to Massinger—the fourth line especially.

'Does the kind root bleed out its livelihood
In parent distribution to its branches,
Adorning them with all his glorious fruits,
Proud that his pride is seen while he's unseen;
And must not gratitude descend again
To comfort his old limbs in fruitless winter?

Improvident or at least partial nature !
(Weak woman in this kind) who in thy last teeming
Forgettest still the former, ever making
The burthen of thy last throes the dearest darling !
O yet in noble man, reform, reform it,
And make us better than those vegetives,
Whose souls die with them. Nature, as thou art old,
If love and justice be not dead in thee,
Make some the pattern of thy piety,
Lest all do turn unnaturally against thee,
And thou be blamed for our oblivious
And brutish reluctations !' 4. 472.

A play, entitled the Parliament of Love, (which is not to be found in the former editions of Massinger) has been printed from an old MS. by Mr. Gifford, and is in parts imperfect; the editor informs us that 'it is beyond all possibility of doubt the genuine work of Massinger.' It is entered in the Master of the Revels' book with Massinger's name, but in the Stationers' book with Rowley's: and a play of the same name by W. Rowley was in the number of those destroyed by Mr. Warburton's servant. The editor is very sparing of the grounds of his decided opinion; but the internal evidence is to us satisfactory; and, after perusing the play, we had not the least hesitation in assenting to the assertion, that it is undoubtedly the work of Massinger. His style is easily recognized throughout the whole. We cannot, however, equally assent to the praise which Mr. Gifford's partiality has lavished on it. The language is good, but the play has little other merit. We shall extract from it one passage which is a good specimen of Massinger's fluent and elegant versification.

'If I bring with me
One thought, but of submission and sorrow,

Or nourish any hope, but that your goodness
May please to sign my pardon, may I perish
In your displeasure! which to me is more
Than fear of hell hereafter. I confess
The violence I offered to your sweetness
In my presumption, with lips impure
To force a touch from yours, a greater crime,
Than if I should have mix'd lascivious flames
With those chaste fires that burn at Dian's altar.
That 'twas a plot of treason to your virtues
To think you could be tempted, or believe
You were not fashion'd in a purer mould,
And made of purer clay, than other women.
Since you are then the Phœnix of your time,
And e'en now, while you bless the earth, partake
Of their angelical essence, imitate
Heaven's aptness to forgive, when mercy's sued for,
And once more take me to your grace and favour.' 2. 278.

In p. 252. we observe an error of the MS. (or perhaps of the press) which has escaped Mr. Gifford's observation. 'I'll not out for a second,' should have been, 'I'll out for a second,' as appears clearly by reference to p. 168.

We have perhaps already transgressed the limits we had prescribed to ourselves in the discussion of the merits of Massinger's writings; and shall now dismiss this article, assuring Mr. Gifford, that we are thankful to him for his edition, which is an acquisition to the public: and though we have held it our duty to censure his asperity against those who are beneath him in literary attainments, we respect his talents, and admire his industry.

1841.

P. S. I much regretted that this article gave offence to Mr. Gifford, with whom I was then unacquainted; and I consequently desisted entirely from writing reviews,

of which the tone at that period was certainly too polemic. I wish to express my high opinion of his talents, and some obligation to him for a few judicious criticisms on the MS. of Helga, which was shewn to him by Mr. Murray.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

ON HORATIAN METRES.

October, 1841.

Mr. Tate has observed, that, where a monosyllabic word is used in the sixth syllable of the third line of the Alcaic stanza, Horace admits only such words as et, nec, qui, te, pro, and the like, but he has not laid down any distinct law. Horace did not admit in that situation a monosyllabic substantive, adjective, participle, or verb. He required a certain pause before it, equivalent to a comma, and avoided a longer pause. The monosyllable in that place cannot commence a fresh sentence. In the first book, ode 27. v. 19 and 23, he admitted Quantâ laboras in Charybdi, and Vix illigatum te triformi, but his style was then unformed, and we find no other instance of a monosyllable so placed without a comma before it, till the fourth book. His maturer judgment had then acquired a liking for the accent on the sixth syllable of that verse; in the intermediate period of his life he had preferred placing it on the fifth. Hence we find so often in the fourth book the forms, Consulque non unius anni, and Urgentur ignotique longâ; and that predilection led him to the admission of the two lines Excepit ictus pro pudicis Conjugibus puerisque primus, 4. 4. 23, and Te belluosus qui remotis obstrepit

oceanus Britannis. 4. 14. 47: but in both these cases there is at least a semipause, since pro pudicis conjugibus puerisque may without impropriety be insulated between commas, and there is necessarily before qui the pause, that intervenes between the antecedent and relative, though by a license the adjective stands in the place of the antecedent, and the substantive is thrown into the later limb of the sentence. If verbs, substantives, and adjectives, were admitted, there would generally be either too close a connection or too little pause in that place. Non cyprias (1. 31. 3.) depends upon Quid poscit preceding: and Divellet unquam: sic potenti Justitiæ placitumque Parcis (2. 17. 15) though the pause is unusually long, is to be considered as one sentence. This leads me to remark, that neither in Sapphics, nor in Asclepiads, or Alcaics, should there be a complete pause at the end of the first or second line of the stanza separated from the remainder, if the first is connected with the foregoing stanza: and indeed scarcely when it is disconnected. We find Est hederæ vis Multa, qua crines religata fulges: 4. 11. 4, but the two first stanzas in fact form one sentence, and the pause after Multa is not without its effect. The two first lines of the Sapphic are detached from the remainder, in one instance, 4. 6. 30. Nomenque dedit poetæ. Virginum primæ &c. but they are not connected with the foregoing stanza. In Alcaics there are three instances: Ne Cypriæ Tyriaque merces Addant avaro divitias mari, 3. 29. 61. imprimeretque muris Hostile aratuum exercitus insolens, 1. 16. 21: and impositas tremendis Dejecit acer plus vice simplici. 4. 14. 13. Deliberatâ morte ferocior (1. 37. 30) is attached to the former stanza, but

no verb follows in the remainder of the stanza which depends on the preceding lines; the same observation is applicable to Pejusque letho flagitium timet; Non ille &c. 4. 9. 50. Nec vera virtus, Cum semel occidit, Curat reponi deterioribus. Si pugnat, &c. (3. 5. 29) is the strongest instance of a disconnexion after the second line by a question, though the sense is connected. In Asclepiads Nec curvo faciem litore dimovet; Sic desideriis &c. (4. 5. 14) is in fact one sentence, as in the case of sic potenti cited above.

The usual mode with Horace is to close the sentence with the stanza, or with the fifth syllable of the next stanza, or to carry it on to the end thereof. I count about 25 instances of the close at the fifth syllable, and three at the third, of the first line; three at the third, and six at the fifth, of the second line; *none at the second syllable of either*. The instances of the sentence carried on from the foregoing stanza and closing in the last half of the first or second line are rare; in usum Poscentis ævi pauca. 2. 11. 5. is the strongest. Dicenda Musis prælia (4. 9. 21.) is followed by a repetition of Non. Unde manus juventus metu Deorum continuit? 1. 35. 37. and Drusum gerentem Vindelici; 4. 9. 34, do not completely close the sentences. Dextras obarmet quærere distuli; Nec scire fas est omnia Sed diu, 4. 4. 21, is rather an ambiguous instance. I count three instances where a fresh sentence begins in the fourth line.

I am well aware that there is no instance in Horace of a long pause after a monosyllabic verb at the commencement of the Alcaic verse, which I have used in Quo muta visu turma fidelium Stat; Sylv. Lib. 307. v. 98; but Est, ut viro vir latiùs ordinet and Ah! te meæ

si partem animæ rapit may perhaps strictly justify it. It is however a form, which could not frequently occur, and Horace even if he deliberately avoided it, would not have scrupled to use it for the purpose of producing poetical effect. Those who object to it, may read Mœret, doloris fons sacer irrigat instead of Stat, lacrymarum fons sacer irrigat, or rather Quo tacta visu turma fidelium Stat muta, luctûs &c. which is most in unison with the Horatian style.

An absurd false print meam for meæ has been overlooked in the Sylvarum liber, p. 292, v. 54, and τοῖσδ' for ταῖσδ' p. 241, last line, which the reader is requested to correct with a pen.

I have perhaps not sufficiently explained (p. 85) that the semipause, which I suppose after a preposition in compound, would enable it to coalesce more easily with the elided vowel into a pseudo-diphthongal or diphthongal syllable, of which the Romans, like the Italians, articulated both vowels; viz. toest and toex. It must be recollected that in Latin the vowel was not actually elided as in Greek, but lengthened the time.

In further illustration of the remarks on accent and quantity, (p. 70), and the possible arrangement of the two in the English language, as they are applied in Latin metre, the following words, conforming with the Latin rule of accentuation, will be found to represent a correct Alcaic stanza. It will be observed that the first line of it being an Alcaic verse accented (like Permitte divis cæ'tera qui símul and Quem sors dierum cúnque dabit lucro) on the sixth and tenth syllables, has the favourite Latin cadence mentioned above, p. 58, and is also a correct English tragic verse; and that the last

line has the like cadence wanting the initial syllable, and would be made complete by prefixing it,—Stirr'd all the búshes wíth a géntle móvement.

They softly creeping, fearful of his coming,
Stole through the woodland with trepidation,
And, slowly proceeding divided
All the bushes with a gentle movement.

The third line, looking to the accents alone, is a short English verse of the triple cadence,—And slow|ly proceed|ing divi|ded. The first syllable of divided is short in the usual English pronunciation.

I apprehend the reason, why two consecutive Alcaics must not end with three dissyllables, to be, that such a structure gives the cadence peculiar to the Sapphic verse.

Prémant Caléná fálce quíbus dédit *Alc.*
Créscit occúlto vélut árbor æ'vo
Fáma Marcélli; mícat ínter ómnes
Júlium sídus, vélut ínter ígnes
Luna minores.
Géntis humánæ páter átque cústos,
O'rte Satúrno, tíbi cúra mágni. 1. 12. 45.

I have quoted five successive Sapphic lines with the same accentuation and termination, to shew that it was not the desire of variety, but the wish to avoid the Sapphic cadence, that caused Horace to use three final dissyllables so rarely in the Alcaic verse. I should have stated, that there is one instance of four terminal dissyllables, but interrupted by a semicolon; Amore peccas; quiquid habes, age 1. 16. 17. The cadence above mentioned is so peculiar to the Sapphic, that, although there are (if I have counted them right) about 462 Sapphic lines in the three first books, there are but four

which have not the accent on the sixth and tenth places, or, what is equivalent, on the fourth, eighth, and tenth; but in the fourth book he sought more variety of cadence, and out of 72 lines I count thirteen departures from that form, and in the Carmen seculare 18 out of 57 lines.

A reference to the poem of Commodianus Afer who wrote about 200 years after the birth of Christ, will shew how early accentual verse was used. His poem consists of hexameters without any regard to quantity, but with the accents as they would be placed in temporal hexameters, not, as placed by the Germans, on the first syllables of feet. The ear of this African must have been like that of an Englishman, more alive to the effect of accent, than to the time of syllables, and it seems not improbable, that accentual verse in which quantity was disregarded may have existed among the less educated subjects of the Roman empire who spoke the Latin language, even in the Augustan age.

Let us see what is the law of Hexameter verse such as the [illegible] wrote. It consists of six feet of two syllables [illegible] first five of which an additional syllable [illegible] without regard to quantity. What [illegible] be found that the comic [illegible] syllables [illegible] form of this hexa- [illegible] is [illegible] in modern [illegible]

[illegible] Mis-

singer has like accentuation, disregarding the quantity, as Commodianus did. A peculiar cadence is however given to the hexameter by the Virgilian rule of usually placing an accent at the commencement of each of the two last feet, and making the fifth trisyllabic. Let us alter Massinger's verse, so as to render it easily conformable to that rule by the insertion of two syllables, one to make the fifth foot trisyllabic, and one to complete the catalectic verse. Suppose the line to be *And púnish|ment seize | him whále | he stands | in dárk|ness*, and insert *fearful* to make up the complement of the two last feet; *And púnish|ment seíze | him whále | he stánds | feárful in | dárkness.* Here we have precisely the metre of Commodianus, when the two last feet bore the accent on the first syllable, but he did not always place it there; for instance we find a line ending, *qui | post mór|tem víve|re dát*, and that form will give precisely the English Alexandrine verse with the superfluous syllables inserted, as they were freely used by Massinger, and not unsparingly by Milton. To comply with the law of cæsura, which forbids both the second and third feet to terminate with a complete word, I will substitute *terrify* for *seize him;* but our numerous monosyllables render the cæsura unimportant.

Omnípo	tens géni	tor quí	post	mór	tem	víve		re	dát.
And púnish	ment térri	fy whále	he stánds		with dárkness			around.	

Milton would not have scrupled to conclude his verse by *with glory around*, or *and sorrow abound*, which has the same cadence, though a little weakened by the open vowel. These observations will strengthen my original position, that modern metres are accentual forms of ancient temporal verse with little regard to quantity. I

have before stated that the sixth syllable of each hemistich in French verse must be long. I shall conclude with a few lines quoted from Commodianus.

> De so le et Lu nà licet | sint præsen'tánea | nóbis,
> Erra tis ; quod e go pri us, pu tátis o|ránda.
> Sunt qui dem in astris, sed | non suà | spónte | cúrrunt.
> Omnipo tens il los, cùm | conderet | ómnia | prímùm,
> Loca vit ibi dem cum | stellis | quártà di | érum.
> Erro rem anti quus quin cum . . . . . .
> Et qui dem in le ge jus sit ne quis | illos a dóret.
> Tot Deos | ora tis, pai ni hil de | vità pro mittunt,
> Ex quo rum in ter rà non | est, nec | ipsi præ dicti.—*Commodiani Apologetici liber adversus paganos, sive instructiones per litteras versuum primas.* Collect. Pisaurensis 5, 16.

The first letters of these lines make **De Sole et L.** The cæsura after the second foot is observed, and the accents are on the first syllable of the two first feet. The third verse is spondaic; the fourth accurate as to quantity, while the rest run quite wild.

ON THE PRINCIPLE OF LAW.

[illegible] discovered in [illegible] which was inadmissible [illegible] have to and con[illegible] made that confession.

[illegible]

By the law of England a confession which has been extorted by threats or promises cannot be produced as [illegible] stolen goods or a murdered body [illegible] having been discovered [illegible] such confession. In a conversation [illegible] Mr. P* was of opinion

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[illegible]

that, as the confession itself was not admissible in evidence, the thing discovered in consequence of that confession should not be thereby connected with the person who had made it; but should be considered separately as found in such or such place, without involving him, unless other circumstances than the confession which led to the discovery, should bring it home to him. This was not a question of law, for that Mr. D. allowed to be against him, but a question of the principle upon which that law was founded. Mr. W. argued with great ability and success, that the principle was sound and just, because it was useful in practice, and no evil could arise from it: till the ingenuity of Mr. D. supposed a case, which was allowed to be the strongest that could have been adduced. It was a case in which a person, undeservedly suspected of a theft, which his brother had committed, and of which the circumstances had afterwards come to his knowledge, might be induced by the hope of obtaining a pardon for himself, and of ensuring the safety of his brother, to make a false confession, and indicate the place in which the stolen goods were concealed. Mr. D. contended upon this, that as the confession extorted under the hope of pardon could not be admitted as evidence, it ought to be considered as not existing, as never having been uttered; and as such should not be made use of to connect the goods with the person who indicated the place of their concealment: and that in this case it would lead to the condemnation of an innocent person. Mr. W. was struck with the difficulty of this case, and though he still retained his former opinion, he confessed that he could "hardly feel the ground of his own principle;" but alleged that

no human regulation could be so perfect, as not to admit some possible inconvenience; and that there was no law, which might not sometimes inadvertently oppress the innocent.—It appeared to me, with full submission to the learned gentleman, whose opinions certainly deserved much more weight than my own, that he had conceded too much: it appeared to me, that Mr. D.'s arguments would tend (if accurately considered) not to shew that no connexion should be admitted between the discovery and the confession, but that it should be admitted as strong presumptive and not positive evidence. Mr. D. seemed to contend that, because the rule existed, that a confession extorted by threats or promises should not be evidence, the modification of that rule could not exist. For certainly this is a modification of a rule. The rule is, that where in consideration of threats or promises the law has reason to doubt the truth of a confession, it will not receive it in evidence. The modification of that rule is, that, when the consequent discovery has in a great measure removed those doubts, it will so far receive the confession in evidence, as to permit the discovery to be proved as consequent to it. It seemed to me that a question of principle could only be decided by referring to principle; and, if that of the rule and of the modification should perfectly coincide, I saw no reason, why they might not stand together: and that they did coincide, I felt strongly convinced. The law (as it was admitted to stand) is, that a voluntary confession may be received as evidence; but that a confession extorted by threats or promises may not: and the ground of that law is, that in one case there is no plausible reason for disbelieving the confession; in the

other there is a strong probability, that the person may have been induced by a mistaken view of his own interests to criminate himself undeservedly; and on that account the law will not regard his confession. If this is the ground, (and it is allowed to be the ground) upon which this rule is founded, how is it inconsistent, that as the veracity of that confession is confirmed by subsequent facts arising from it, the law should begin to give credit to it; that as the doubts, which induced the law to reject it, are removed, the law should again embrace it? The law refuses the confession, because it doubts its veracity; subsequent facts tend to prove that it is true, and as such the law again regards it; with more or less faith, as the doubts are more or less perfectly removed. Surely in this there is no contradiction or inconsistency of principle, but the rule and the modification seem to hang together by a clear and reciprocal connection. If the stolen goods are discovered in the place which the prisoner had indicated, there is certainly a bare possibility that he may not himself have concealed them, but simply have been privy to their concealment; and on this account it might be considered not as positive proof, but as a strong presumption of his guilt, which would however bear much weight in circumstantial evidence. But I will further contend, that there is no stronger reason for rejecting this as positive evidence of guilt, than every voluntary confession which the law does admit. Reflecting upon the case above stated, we shall see that two motives (and two only) can have operated in producing this false confession; one is the hope of pardon; the other, the impulse of fraternal affection: let us then separate the operations of these two induce-

ments. The hope of pardon might have induced him to make a false confession of guilt, under the impression, that if he confessed, his life would be secured by a pardon consequent to it; but that, if he persisted in declaring his innocence, it might be endangered by some unfortunate train of circumstances, which had cast a strong suspicion upon him. But the hope of pardon could not induce him to indicate stolen goods, to the concealment of which he was not privy; neither could threats have induced him; for if he knew not where they were, he could not have discovered them. We have then this conclusion, that, where stolen goods have been discovered in consequence of a confession, he who made it is the guilty person, or is privy to the guilt;* that his confession is true, or that knowing the truth he has criminated himself from affection towards the real criminal, whom he wished to screen from punishment. This is the point, by which we shall find that it stands upon the same ground as every voluntary confession: and let us consider what a voluntary confession is.

The law accepts a voluntary confession; and by that it can only understand a confession, which cannot be ascertained to have been produced by the operation of any external cause, but by the secret instigations of the mind. If it is extorted by threats, the law can distinguish it; if it is extracted by promises, the law can distinguish it: but whether it is caused by repentance and remorse or by the secret ties of gratitude and affection, what eye,

* I am accurate in stating that he is privy to the guilt and not merely to the concealment, for, if he suppresses his knowledge of the concealment, he must be privy to the guilt.

what wisdom, can discern? Certainly there have been those, who have devoted themselves to undeserved punishment for the purpose of screening a beloved criminal: but though the law cannot distinguish them, and sometimes an innocent misguided victim may fall under its severity, we can only lament that no human wisdom or penetration is able to search the deepest recesses of the mind and discover the secret motives of every action. We see then that a confession, which, though false, is made in obedience to the feelings of the heart, is one which the law, because it has not sufficient reason to doubt its truth, admits as evidence: and we have seen that the former confession so confirmed must be either true or produced by the instigation of affection; and as such its credibility rests upon the same principle, that admits every voluntary confession. Whether the law ought to admit that, is a separate question: that it does is certain; and I believe the wisdom of the law, which deserves to be contemplated with deference and veneration, will not in this be found deficient. I have thus attempted, as distinctly as my abilities enabled me, to state the arguments which were objected to this principle in the law of evidence;—to shew that the objections did not tend to affect that, but only the degree of faith which ought to be reposed in such evidence;—and lastly, that in this case and in that of voluntary confessions the evidence deserves the same credit, and that the principle of its admission is built upon the same foundation. If I have stated anything inaccurately or drawn any false conclusion, I have erred from misconception and not from prejudice: for though on this, as on other occasions, I admire the fundamental wisdom, on

which the laws of my country rest, and which is never perhaps more conspicuous, than when its principles are discussed, I feel too much veneration for the whole fabric, to be captiously zealous in defence of any incidental blemish.

GUM TRADE.

From Cobbett's Ann. Register, 1802.

Sir, melancholy as the prospect of Great Britain now appears, and supinely as her rulers seem disposed to abandon all her nearest and dearest interests to the rapacious gripe of France, it behoves all who love the existence of their country, and have gloried in her prosperity, to contribute the little mite of their abilities for the preservation of what yet remains to her. If ever, after a long and bloody war, it has been necessary, that the limits of commercial and territorial rights between the contending nations should be clearly and unequivocally defined, it certainly must have been after such a war, as we have now sustained; in which the fundamental government of our rival has been wholly subverted, and all its frame, qualities, and relations, modelled upon a new character. Much has been said, and more discussion will take place in both houses of Parliament, on the unprecedented omission of the revival of ancient treaties in that, which we have now concluded; and

many valuable rights have been enumerated, which are supposed to have been held by no other title than those extinguished treaties. Let us be careful how we proceed at this momentous crisis, after the ratification of such a peace, if peace it may be called, which is pregnant with new hostilities. It was publicly and officially declared at the signature of the peace in 1783, that the abrogation of subsisting treaties would throw commerce into infinite confusion; how much more forcible must be its effects, when the government, upon whose ancient faith the basis of our commercial intercourse was established, is annulled, and its place supplied by a new government, and new race of legislators! It is a subject worthy of the consideration of those, who are better able to decide upon it than I am, whether on the termination of war, which interrupted all treaties, they do not of themselves revive, unless expressly altered or annulled by new stipulations. I believe this will not be found a novel idea; and a strong argument, that such was the opinion of those, who signed the treaty of 1783, may be drawn from the use of the words "abrogation of subsisting treaties," instead of non-revival of ancient treaties. No argument can be collected on the other side from the practice of stipulating for their renewal, which is solely to be attributed to the jealous care, with which our ancient negotiators avoided the possible admission of a dangerous cavil. They stipulated generally for the renewal of all treaties, but were not satisfied with this security, without likewise inserting the names of particular important treaties, which, though not enumerated would by the general clause have been equally confirmed. I will not dwell on this question, which will find abler

advocates in Parliament; the point, to which I am desirous of drawing the public attention, is our right to the gum trade, which Lord G. and Mr. W. have stated to be wholly done away by the extinction of those treaties; and (unfounded as this opinion to me appears) ministers either careless, or ignorant of the subject, have silently assented to its truth. But, though I humbly hope to demonstrate, that this right has not been ceded to France, and that it is wholly unconnected with the non-renewal of ancient treaties, how uncertain is the predicament of this country, when men of such abilities, and so zealous for its welfare, can for a moment believe our rights to be extinguished; when the negligence or impotence of ministers has reduced us to the perilous alternative of yielding them to the rapacity of our enemies, or maintaining them by argument, without any tribunal to judge them, but the imperious court of France, or any appeal from her decisions, but to the enfeebled sword of Great Britain.

To determine whether, or not, we still possess a right to participate in the gum trade, we must consider the origin of that right, and of the right of France to the territory, upon which it is exercised. If the absolute sovereignty of Senegal was vested in France, and the right of trading in its dependencies had been granted by her to Great Britain, by the extinction of that grant, the right of trade would undoubtedly expire. But I contend, that the complete and unlimited sovereignty of Senegal does not belong to France, and that the trade in question was carried on not by her permission or sufferance, but by the unceded right of Great Britain. By the treaty of 1763, Senegal, with all its dependencies, which extend

northward round the Bays of Portendic and Arguin to Cape Blanco, was ceded to Great Britain in full right, without any reservation or restriction. A share in the gum trade was insured to France by the restitution of Goree; and Great Britain remained for twenty years in full possession of the settlements of Senegal, till their cession was demanded by France at the conclusion of the American war. The English could procure slaves from their settlements on the Gambia, and the chief value of Senegal was the participation in the gum trade, which it secured to them. It was ceded therefore to France in 1783, with a reservation of liberty for British merchants to carry on this trade on the coast between Portendic and the River St. John, a portion of the dependencies of Senegal, on condition that these merchants should form there no permanent settlement. The French therefore acquired in Senegal not an absolute sovereignty, but a qualified territorial right, without any power of excluding the British traders from a part of this district. In the late war Great Britain recovered Senegal, and by the treaty just concluded she stipulates generally to restore all the conquests, which she has made in the course of it. What then does she restore to France in Africa? An absolute sovereignty over Senegal, subject to no limitations, or restrictions? No, for this France did not possess; this was not wrested from her. She held Senegal subject to certain British rights, and the same estate, which she before possessed there, is now restored to her. But the British right to trade on the coast from Portendic to the St. John, which our ministers refused to cede in 1783, has not been ceded by the last treaty. Great Britain holds it by virtue of her conquest in 1758;

in 1783, she ceded the territorial rights, reserving this; and by the present confirmation of that cession she still retains that trade, which she had reserved, whole and unimpaired; and any attempt of the French to interrupt her merchants in the enjoyment of this their unequivocal right, will be a direct renewal of hostilities. That this valuable right remains still to Great Britain, with all due reference to the opinion of the noble lord, who has so ably expatiated on the defects of this treaty, I am firmly convinced; that our present ministers will cast this gem of our commercial crown at the feet of France, I am much disposed to fear. I am yours, &c. W. H.

GUM TRADE.

1802.

Sir, I have read your answer to my letter of the sixth of May, (Register, p. 548) with that attention which it deserves: and, having weighed it, find no cause to alter the opinion therein expressed. Referring to what I wrote, (hastily I confess, but I trust not inaccurately) you will find, that on the question concerning the proposed abrogation of all treaties prior to that, which ministers have now concluded, I pronounced no judgment. Thinking it, as I still do, a point very dubious, and capable of being supported on either side with much plausibility, I declined entering into the discussion and hoped to hear it argued by more experienced advocates. The reason of my alluding to this subject was, that, whereas our right to the gum trade appeared to me to have rested before the war upon two points, namely, our former sovereignty in Senegal, from which in this

respect we had never departed, and the confirmation of our right in 1783, by the acknowledgment of France, I chose to waive whatever assistance my arguments might have derived from this confirmation, and to rest entirely upon our unceded right. But willing as I was to suppose the abrogation of this acknowledgment, I thought it necessary to premise, that it did not rest upon clear and indisputable grounds. That, which I added in allusion to the declaration of 1783, was mentioned as a circumstance perhaps of curious observation, certainly not of very important weight. But, nugatory as you have been pleased to style it, permit me to assert, that it was not inaccurate. By what grammatical system you have been led to imagine, that existing treaties must signify treaties, which do not exist, but have existed, I must in my turn "confess, that I am at a loss to discover." You must allow that such interpretation, though useful to the subtle arguer, would tend to confuse our notions of the past and present. With respect to the question, upon which this remark was made, I am not disposed at present to enter into it; but waiving it, as I did before, shall examine your objections to my opinion on the gum trade, which I do not despair of answering to your satisfaction. That much has been given up by the late treaty, that more has been thrown in doubt by the uncertainty of its terms, is a fact, I fear, indisputable; but to point out what yet remains to Great Britain, what her ministers ought to vindicate, and with a little firmness may yet preserve, is a task, even if fruitless, not uninteresting. I speak, as you justly observe, "of what France has a right to do," not of what "she will do;" for the measure of her usurpations will not be

determined by the justice or injustice of her pretensions, but by the vigour or pusillanimity of her opponents. These are the only limits of her encroachments, and the constant objects of her politic discernment; and, if our ministers had resolution enough to enforce our claims, the decree excluding foreigners from the trade of Senegal, in which the British name, is not, I believe, expressed, would be interpreted by her as alluding to those only, whom she had a right to exclude. If we tamely submit to all her usurpations, the vigilant ambition of the Corsican Consul will circumscribe us in every direction, will watch over all our motions, and thwart our operations in every corner of the globe.

"Vigilat Consul, vexillaque vestra coercet;
Hic novis —— agrobilis, et modò ——
Mare per pelagus navis, galeatum ponit ubique
Classem, arma arcet ns, et in omni gente laborat."

To my observations on the present right of Great Britain to carry on the gum trade on the coast between Portendic and the St John, you have taken two exceptions, 1st, that it was not reserved by Great Britain at the time of the cession of Senegal, but afterwards granted to her by France; 2ndly, that if it was so reserved, the right upon which that reservation was founded, is annulled by the abrogation of the treaty of 1783.

On the first of those exceptions, which, if true, would be conclusive, you are not inclined to lay much stress, probably because you feel some fallacy in the arguments which support it. You contend, that this was not a reservation, but a subsequent grant, because

it is contained in an article, which (though in the same treaty) is in order subsequent to that, by which Senegal was ceded to France; and you add, that another article intervenes upon a different subject, which statement to me appears inaccurate. In adjusting the rights of Britain and France upon the western coast of Africa, there were two important points, the slave trade, and the gum trade. The ninth article of the treaty of Versailles delivers Senegal, which supplied both these branches of commerce, into the hands of France; the tenth secures to Great Britain her slave trade by the guarantee of Fort James, and the eleventh secures her gum trade by stipulating for free access for that purpose to a part of the dependencies of Senegal. In this I discover no interruption of the subject, but on the contrary a clear and continued connexion. I know, Sir, the extent of your information on these subjects to be considerable, and I am certain, you cannot be ignorant, that Vattel, whom you have quoted, has* ably demonstrated that the whole of every treaty, though subdivided into several articles, is to be considered as one article; that there is a reciprocalness in its parts and engagements, which precludes their separation. One stipulation is made by the party, to whom it is detrimental, in contemplation of another, which is advantageous to him, without which the former might never have received his assent; and on this account the whole is to be considered as one article, though subdivided for the sake of greater distinctness. It appears then, according to the opinion

* See Vattel, B. 2. Sect. 202. and B. 4. Sect. 49. and Grotius therein quoted.

of the most approved civilians, that, even if the connexion, which I have stated, between the above-mentioned articles had not existed, they must have been inseparably joined by the unity of the treaty; and of course that the stipulation in the eleventh article must act as a reservation on the cession in the ninth. Upon these grounds, and the premises in my former Letter, I contend, as before, that France held Senegal subject to certain British rights, and that the same estate, which she possessed there, is now restored to her.

Whether those rights can be annulled by the supposed abrogation of the treaty of 1763, remains to be examined. You have suggested, that whatever rights we had, must have originated in the treaty of Paris, and that, by omitting to renew that treaty, we have forfeited our title; but I believe, you was not aware to what lengths that opinion would lead you. You probably did not reflect, that, maintaining this proposition, you must assert, that Canada, that Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia are surrendered by the peace to France, that Jamaica is now the property of Spain. All these, and others, which it would be vain to enumerate, conquered, like Senegal, by the arms of Britain, were ceded to her afterwards by treaties, which we have now omitted to renew. But where is the man so wild in his opinions, so extravagant in his arguments, as to insist, that by this omission we have surrendered all our ancient acquisitions, and reduced ourselves within the narrow limits of the British coast? Our sovereignty in Senegal was acquired by conquest in 1758, and that sovereignty was acknowledged by France in the treaty of 1763; and, if conquest is not a title, I may be bold to say, that

there is no title to sovereignty in Europe, none perhaps in the habitable world. By "the law of nature, which "is the necessary law of nations," all acquisitions in a just war are good in the eyes of mankind; and who is he, that will venture to proclaim, that the war, in which we conquered Senegal, arising from the intricate confusion of unadjusted claims, was unnecessary or unjust? Great and glorious I know it was to the arms of Britain, nor have I ever found, that honour and honesty disclaimed her pretensions. That our rights over Senegal were derived solely from the treaty of 1763, was not admitted in my Letter, which expressly stated, that Great Britain held them by virtue of her conquest in 1758.

But, though I think the title by conquest paramount to that obtained by a subsequent treaty, I will further contend, that a cession by treaty gives a valid title for ever; which can be forfeited only by an infringement of some stipulation in the treaty, which conferred it; a case of forfeiture, however, which will not occur; for what belligerent powers ever avowed their own trespasses, and who shall decide upon the justice of their cause? I shall be told, that, if the right is founded on treaty, it cannot exist without the treaty; but the fact is, that the right is given by the delivery, and the treaty is the evidence of that delivery, which may be lost without ejecting the possessor. If it were otherwise, this absurdity would follow, that a cession without treaty by the simple act of delivery would be a better and surer title than one confirmed by seal and signature. For instance, if in full peace Great Britain had voluntarily surrendered the Falkland Islands to Spain, she never

could have renewed her claims to them; if she had in addition to this expressed that surrender in a written convention, the future omission of Spain to renew this, would according to your argument have amounted to a forfeiture, and the rights of Great Britain would have revived. Believing therefore, still, that the trade in Senegal accrued to us in 1758, was confirmed to us in 1763, was not ceded by the peace of Versailles, and will remain to us after the restoration of our late conquest, I thought it necessary to write thus much in vindication of my former arguments; and I trust, you will agree with me, that against the encroaching and tyrannous ambition of France we should "cavil on the ninth part of a hair." Much has been yielded to her imperious will; but neither the cession of important stations, nor the mighty continental preponderance of France, has rendered this treaty so dishonourable and insecure, as the uncertain predicament in which it has left us; "Quod in ambiguo verbum jaculata reliquit." In this dangerous hour let Britain act with honesty, but with firmness; let her maintain inviolate her public faith, which has been too little regarded in the late transactions, but let not her ministers unnecessarily concede one iota of her ancient dignities, her ancient rights and commercial privileges. If they do, it is a jest to say, that they have consulted for the integrity of the British empire; for what greater or richer dominion did Britain ever possess, than the pure respect of Europe, and the valuable sources of her commercial wealth! I am, Sir, yours, &c. W. H.

GUM TRADE.

1802.

SIR, I should not have troubled you again upon this subject, if I had not observed a misrepresentation, which must have escaped you inadvertently. You say (p. 597), concerning the negotiators at Versailles, that, "if they "had meant treaties existing at the moment when they "were speaking, to talk of the necessity of renewing "them, &c. would have been a downright absurdity." There is no mention in their declaration of the necessity of renewing treaties, but there is of the inconvenience of abrogating them; which expression militates directly against your argument. I may perhaps be allowed this opportunity of observing, that the new grounds of argument in your last letter appear to me very insufficient. I conceive, that, "when the conqueror obtains a cession "of his conquest," his former title is not annulled, but confirmed; that the cession is little more, than an acknowledgment of the enemy, that he will not disturb the enjoyment of that title, which during the war he continued to dispute. It is a renunciation of his pretensions, strengthening, not cancelling, the title of the conqueror. I think also, that you will not easily establish, that "the right of conquest," (by which you mean all the rights arising from conquest) "must be "abandoned the moment the territory is, no matter by "what means, in possession of another;" notwithstanding any reservation of particular rights, or qualification of the new possession. The following passage in Vattel (b. 2. § 89.) may tend to throw some light upon the

subject. "We may grant the right of fishing in a river, "or on the coast, that of hunting in the forests, &c. and "when once these rights have been validly ceded, they "constitute a part of the possessions of him, who has "acquired them, and ought to be respected in the "same manner, as his former possessions." *A fortiori* they must be so considered, if, instead of being held by grant upon foreign soil, they have been reserved upon his former territory. I shall not prolong this discussion, which might become tedious; and shall take my leave of the subject, hoping, that, if ministers did not intend the abandonment of this trade, they will not complete the restitution of Senegal, till the right shall have been acknowledged by France.

"Viribus utendum est, quas fecimus; arma tenenti
"Omnia dat, qui justa negat: neque numina deerunt,
"Nam nec præda meis, neque regnum quæritur armis;
"Detrahimus dominos urbi"——

I wish, that truth did not compel me to add "servire paratæ." I remain, Sir, your obedient, humble servant, W. H.

ARGUMENT

In the case of the Snipe and other American vessels detained under the Orders in Council, and brought to adjudication in the High Court of Admiralty before SIR WILLIAM SCOTT, July 12, 1812; *taken in shorthand by Mr. Gurney, and published by Butterworth.*

Sir, upon the determination of this important and momentous question are now depending greater interests

than have ever before been the subject of discussion within these walls: not merely because the rights of all civilized nations are at stake; not merely because the character of Great Britain must take its colour from the result of these proceedings; but also, because perhaps upon its decision hangs the grand question of war or peace between this country and America. It is too possible, Sir, that an unfortunate determination of this suit, prejudicial to the rights, and fatal to the property of the claimants, may blast the fair promise of the year, may smother the seeds of conciliation, and may at once overwhelm the cheering prospect of our merchants and manufacturers, who are just awakened from a long night of despondence and of despair, to cherish the fond hopes of renewed intercourse and reviving commerce with the natural friends of Great Britain. It is too possible, that such a determination (which I do not anticipate, and which heaven avert!) may stir again into a flame those embers of disaffection and disloyalty, which have disgraced some provinces of the empire, but which, I trust, are rapidly subsiding, and yielding to former habits of industry, under a confident persuasion of the complete adjustment of all differences between this country and America. Important, Sir, as this question is, and unable as I am to do it justice in all its bearings, and particularly unequal from the anxious trepidation which I feel upon the subject; I am confident, that if the merits of the case of the claimants be but rightly understood and justly appreciated, it is utterly impossible, that they should not obtain from the Court that sentence of restitution, which they demand; that sentence, which will give additional strength to the conciliatory measures which have been

adopted, and will enable us to look with satisfactory anticipation to the events which are to follow.

But, Sir, before I proceed to the discussion of the particular points of this case, I must enter my protest against a preliminary doctrine, which I heard from my learned friend the King's Advocate with no little degree of amazement. My learned friend was bold enough to assert, that the Court had merely a passive ministerial office in this respect, that it had (I quote, I believe, his very words) renounced all exercise of original discretion upon the subject; that it was bound to decide according to the letter of the orders and regulations of the executive Government, without entering into the consideration, whether those Orders and Declarations, either in their original construction, or in consequence of circumstances which may have intervened, are or are not consistent and conformable with those great, universal, and established principles of public law, which I affirm that no individual potentate has authority to supersede, to alter, or to suspend. Is it come to this, Sir, that you, who have been so long the ornament of the bench and the pride of the country, whose abilities have been the admiration of either hemisphere, whose integrity has been the only consolation of suffering neutrals; instead of reaping the consummation of all those honours you have deserved, must at this period of your life drain the cup of professional humiliation? Is it come to this, that you, Sir, who have proudly declared to Europe and to the world that the law has no locality, that you sit here to administer impartial justice to the subjects of this and other countries, as if you were sitting at Stockholm or in Washington; that you, Sir, must retract this proud declaration, that you must renounce those manly principles, which

have given splendour and magnanimity to your judgments; that, after having trodden the high career which you have pursued, you must at last pronounce yourself, as my learned friend has stated, a passive instrument in the hands of the crown, a servile tool of the servants of the crown, nay, of his Majesty's Advocate himself, who demands this humiliating concession; of His Majesty's Advocate himself, who has been employed to pen these Orders and Declarations, by the letter of which he now desires the Court to hold itself bound, without referring either to the spirit in which they were framed, to the objects for which they were intended, or to the principles by which they must be governed. From what passage of your life has my learned friend conceived, that he might entertain this preposterous expectation? I believe, Sir, that my learned friend has been emboldened to conceive, that it was possible for him to call upon the Court to pronounce a decision, looking to the mere words of these Orders, without any reference to the law of nations, from a misconception of that which had fallen from the Court in the case of the Fox; a report, to which I beg leave to call the attention of the Court, as one of the utmost importance, because it has not gone forth to the world merely as the accidental report of individuals, who had attempted to represent that which fell from the Court; but it has been laid upon the table of Congress by the President of the United States, as if it were an authentic official document, containing and setting forth to the world the exact principles upon which the Court founded its decision, and the very words and expressions in which the Court meant to set forth that opinion: and if, from a misconception of the

gentleman who corrected that report, or from any omissions whatsoever, the language of the Court should appear to convey a meaning inconsistent with that which it has stated in other parts of the same report, inconsistent with its former declarations and former conduct, I conceive that I cannot act a more grateful or acceptable part to the Court, than by attempting to draw its attention to such errors or to such misconceptions; and giving it an opportunity of explaining satisfactorily what were the principles by which it was then guided, and by which it must be guided in the case now before it for consideration.

It has been there stated, that the Court laid down that these Courts have their unwritten law collected from the common usages of civilized States; that there is likewise an unwritten common law of the land, which, with respect to the practice of the courts of common law, is analogous to the unwritten law of nations with respect to the practice of the Court of Admiralty; that the King in council possesses legislative rights over this Court; that the orders of the King in council are analogous to the statutes of the realm; that the Court is bound to obey them; that there is nothing inconsistent in supposing that the Court will obey them, presuming that they are conformable to the law of nations, and that it could not, without extreme indecency, presume the contrary; and that the Court conceived the Judges of the common law would not a priori entertain the question, how they should act if the statute law of the land should be inconsistent with the common law. Now, Sir, I conceive that there is in this report some degree of misconception and mistatement of what fell from the Court, and that the

inference which has been drawn from the whole is very different from that which it intended to convey. Certain it is that the unwritten law, which is collected from the usages of all civilized nations, is, with respect to the practice of those courts, which are to decide as between the subject of one nation and the subject of another on questions of this nature, directly analogous to the common law of the land, as regards the practice of those courts which are to decide upon the internal transactions of this country. The Parliament, with the assent of the King, has undoubtedly power to enact statutes which supersede and alter the common law of the land: and when the Court said, that it did not conceive that the judges of the common law would entertain a priori the question, how they should act if the statute law should contradict the common law of the land, I am confident that the Court also felt, and I believe that it expressed that the judges of the common law, if the statute law did supersede and did alter the common law itself would be forward, not only in the first instance, but in the last resort to obey the statute law; acknowledging that, which is notorious, that the King and the Parliament have the power to alter or to supersede the law of the land. But how is it with respect to the common law of all nations? Can it be held that the Government of any one country has power to alter it? That which is directly analogous to the statute law of the realm is the act of any congress of representatives from all civilized nations, and the treaties and capitulations between any two or more countries with respect to those countries which are the contracting parties. This I conceive that the Court did feel; I conceive that the Court will go with me in stating that these

are directly analogous; but with respect to the proclamations of the King, or the Orders in Council of his Majesty, I humbly conceive that the Court never meant to state, that they were more imperative upon this Court, than they were upon the courts of common law; the courts of common law are bound to take cognizance of a proclamation as far as it conforms with the law of the land, as it is consistent with the prerogative of the Crown and the constitutional rights of the people; if the King proclaims war against a country, the courts of common law will pronounce sentence against a person who in the face of that proclamation entertains intercourse with the King's enemies: but if the King were to proclaim, contrary to the statutes and laws of the realm, that any individual should be punished with loss of property and death, the courts of common law would entirely disregard and refuse to enforce it.

(Sir William Scott.—In the judgment in the case of the Fox, to which you refer, I guarded extremely against the possibility of its being conceived, that I meant ever to say, that this Court was bound to execute the orders of the crown against the laws of nations. I never said any such thing.)

I stated that I believed the Court had never said any such thing; that the Court had been misrepresented or misunderstood.

(Sir William Scott.—I do not recollect every word; but I am not aware of having said anything which could lead to such an inference.)

The Court appears to be represented by the report to have said something of that nature; it has been adverted to in another case in this court, and it appears to have

been the ground of the preliminary argument of the King's Advocate.

(Sir William Scott.—I beg that my interruption may not prevent your stating anything which you may wish to say.)

I was about to say, that, as the courts of common law were bound to take notice of the proclamations of the King, where they were consistent with the statute law or common law of the land, so this Court is bound to enforce the Orders in Council and the proclamations of the King, where they are conformable to the established law of nations; but if those Orders in Council are from their original construction, (but we are not however now arguing upon the original construction of those Orders, and I wish not to call that part of the subject into question; I do not wish to lead the Court, into any consideration with respect to the conduct of the Government in originally enacting those Orders,) or if, in consequence of anything that should afterwards intervene, they should become inconsistent with the law of nations; as it was before the duty of the Court to enforce them, so it would become its duty to pronounce them null and void.

Now, Sir, what has the Court itself stated on the subject of the Orders in Council? It is not necessary for me to argue, either from the preamble of these orders, or from the many declarations of His Majesty's Government, that they are merely of a retaliatory nature; the Court has itself repeatedly asserted it; the Court has stated, that their establishment was a great and signal departure from the ordinary administration of justice; that it was justifiable only as long as its measures were retaliatory; that they would cease to be just if they ceased to be retaliatory; and the Court has also said, that a State is not at liberty

to apply a harsher rule than the law of nations warrants; and if the State is not at liberty to apply a harsher rule than the law of nations permits, the Court is not at liberty to carry it into execution. Then, Sir, it appears to me, that the main question for the consideration of the Court is, whether these Orders have or have not ceased to be retaliatory? If I can shew, that they no longer possess that character, then, upon the very words and declarations of the Court itself, I think I am entitled to call upon it to pronounce, that they no longer affect, and that they can no longer operate to the confiscation of, this property.

The first step, which appears to have been taken by the French Government towards the revocation of those edicts, against which the Orders in Council were directed, was in the communication which was made on the 5th of August 1810, to the American Minister, which is referred to in the letters of the 25th of December, in which the French Minister stated, that he was authorized to declare that the Decrees of Berlin and Milan were revoked, and that from the 1st of November they would cease to be enforced, it being understood that in consequence of this declaration the English shall revoke their Orders in Council, and renounce the new principle of blockade which they have attempted to establish; or that the United States, conformably to the act just communicated, shall cause their rights to be respected by the English. Here, Sir, was communicated to the American Minister information that the Berlin and Milan Decrees were revoked with alternative conditions annexed thereto; the one, that the English should renounce their Orders in Council and their new principles of blockade; the other alternative, that if they did not, the Americans should cause their rights to be re-

spected. Now, Sir, it does appear to me, that a very great misconception of the first alternative in that condition has gone abroad. I conceive that this misconception has reached even the British Government; and I will take leave to point out to the Court, what, in my humble opinion, was the meaning of the French Government, in stating that the English should revoke their Orders in Council, and renounce those new principles of blockade which they had attempted to establish. I humbly conceive, that it meant but one thing; simply, that the English Government should revoke those Orders in Council and the new principles of blockade which were involved in them; and I am not to be told that no new principles of blockade were involved in those orders; because I have the authority of the Court itself for asserting that they were new principles of blockade; not merely because, in the case of the Fox, the Court called them a great and signal departure from the principles of justice, though justified by the peculiar circumstances of the case, but because in another case, the case of the Success, Smith, alluding to the Order of January 1807, the Court made use of these distinct words: "This is a new species of blockade." Now, Sir (if there is no inconsistency in understanding that the new principles of blockade which are alluded to, and not otherwise defined, are the very principles, contained in these Orders, which are defined and pointed out) let us consider what are the grounds which are alleged for supposing that other measures of blockade are alluded to.

(Sir William Scott.—This Court has always held this species of blockade justified only by the principle of retaliation: it is no departure from the law of nations.)

I was not wishing to insinuate even any opinion of my

own that they were a departure from the law of nations, but the Court has styled them a new species of blockade: and if the Court has so styled them, by whatever principles justifiable, it can be no wonder that the Court of France has also styled them the new principles of blockade. The ground on which it has been argued that the French Government meant something very different, was by a reference to the Berlin and Milan Decrees themselves, because in the preamble of one of those decrees various causes of complaint were set sorth: amongst others, that England made prisoners the crews of merchants' ships; that it seized the property of merchants and individuals; that it extended its blockade to commercial towns. I understand it is inferred from that preamble, that (because the French Government appears to have reckoned, however unjustly and absurdly, that the extension of a blockade, to a commercial unfortified town was an improper measure of blockade) that must have been the very new species of blockade to which the condition annexed to this revocation alluded. It will be for me to shew the reason why I conceive that that species of blockade, which is the only other new species of blockade alluded to in the French Decrees, was not in the consideration of France when it annexed this condition. The Court will observe that the grievances, in addition to those I have stated, which are set forth in the preamble, were: "That Great Britain declared places in a state of blockade which were not invested by a military or naval force." Now it will appear in the enactments which followed these preambles, that the French had recourse to different branches of retaliation and measures of a very distinct description. She proclaimed the British Islands to be in a state of blockade; she forbad all access to the British ports by

neutral vessels: in addition to these measures of blockade, she ordered the confiscation of all British property on the Continent; she ordered the seizure of all private persons, merchants, or travellers, upon the Continent: she ordered all letters from this country to be intercepted; and she completed a code of municipal regulations for the purpose of interdicting the intercourse of Great Britain with France and with other countries on the Continent, Now, Sir, it did seem to me, upon the very face of these instruments, as there were two grounds of complaint in the preamble, and as there were two measures of enactment with regard to that preamble, that the blockade of England was applicable to the blockade of France; that the seizure of British property and of British persons on the Continent was applicable to the other complaint, namely, that Great Britain confiscated merchant property and made prisoners of seamen of merchant vessels; but I am not left to draw that opinion merely from the common result of reason. I find the directions of the French Government, confirming that which is the necessary result of reason applied to this subjcct. In the report of the state of the empire by the Duke de Cadore, in December 1810, I find these words: "Sire, your Majesty will persevere in your Decrees so long as England persists in her Orders in Council; you will oppose to a maritime blockade a continental blockade, and to the plunder on the seas the confiscation of English merchandize on the Continent:" that she will expose to a maritime blockade a continental blockade, that is, the confiscation of every ship coming to the Continent from a British port; and to the plunder of the seas, that is, to the capture of private property, and the detention of private seamen, it

will oppose the confiscation of British merchandize on the Continent. I have therefore, from the authority of the French Government itself, that division of the subject, the application of one part of the Berlin and Milan Decrees to one part of the preamble, the application of the other part to the other part of the preamble.

The French Government, Sir, appears to me to have been uniform in pointing out that distinction; for in the next report, in the reply of Napoleon to the Hamburgh deputation, on the 20th of March 1811,—*(Sir William Scott. Where is that to be found?)*—It has been published, and the Court itself has referred to it in the judgment of the Fox. In the reply to the Hamburgh deputation, he states: "The Decrees of Berlin and Milan, flowing from the nature of things, shall continue to form the public code of my empire as long as England maintains her Orders in Council of 1806 and 1807, and violates the stipulation of the treaty of Utrecht; upon this subject England acts upon the principle of seizing the enemy's merchandize under whatever flag it may be; the Emperor has been compelled to admit the principle of seizing English merchandize, proceeding from the commerce of England, in whatever territory it may be:" therefore the Court will perceive, that to that principle acted upon by England, to which France, however unjustly, objects, referring to the treaty of Utrecht, she has directly pointed out the special remedy which she applies to that grievance; and the Court will have the goodness to pay particular attention to these words: "The Emperor has been compelled to admit the principle of seizing English merchandize, or merchandize proceeding from the commerce of England, in whatever

territory it may be:" therefore that which she has applied as a retaliation to a violation of what she calls the principles of the treaty of Utrecht, extends merely to a seizure of goods, in whatever territory they may be found and not on the high seas. The French Emperor proceeds: "England seizes on every sea the passengers, merchants, and carriers, belonging to the nations she is at war with: France is compelled to seize the English travellers, merchants, and carriers, in whatever part of the Continent they may be;" again pointing out that she does not apply to what she calls the principles of the treaty of Utrecht, that branch which respects seizure on the high seas. Upon these grounds it appears to me, that when the French annexed this condition to the revocation of the Berlin and Milan Decrees, that Great Britain should revoke her Orders and renounce her new principles of blockade, she did not apply it to any other principles of blockade than those which the Court itself has called new principles of blockade, though justified by the circumstances.—(*Sir William Scott. Not new principles of blockade.*)—A new species of blockade.—(*Sir William Scott. The principle is that of retaliation, which is not new.*)—If my conception is right upon this subject, it appears that France, revoking towards America her Decrees as far as they were intended to counteract the Orders in Council of Great Britain, and those principles of blockade which she reckoned to be involved in them, did not intend to call upon us to renounce those principles which she pretends we are bound to renounce in consequence of the treaty of Utrecht; and that she did not on her part contemplate the removal of those which have been justly called municipal regulations by my learned friend

who opened the case of the Captors, and who most fairly and candidly admitted that they are, what they must be called, municipal regulations. But, Sir, if a doubt could have arisen whether or not the intention of the French Government is still such as I have represented it to have been, for the purpose of discovering whether it remained so or not, we must look to what have been the subsequent acts of the French Government; and, if we find the French Government has from that period acted as if its Decrees were completely revoked, then I conceive it will be extremely difficult for the ingenuity of any gentleman to state, that she did not mean to do that which we are ready to shew the Court she has actually done by the two letters of the 25th of December; that which was communicated to the American minister in the first instance, and of which probably some intimation had also been given to the authorities in France, though that intimation is not before us, but regularly and authoritatively certified to those persons who were principally instrumental in carrying the French Decree into effect. A letter was addressed to the President of the Council of Prizes, another was addressed to the Director General of the Customs, to the person who would be principally concerned in making seizures, and to the person who would be principally concerned in deciding upon those seizures; and what are the important contents, and what is the result, of these letters? Why a direct, authoritative, and official order to the Director of Customs, and to the President of the Council of Prizes, telling them that the Decrees were revoked, that they were not to act upon them, that they were to suspend all proceedings for the purpose of seeing whether

those conditions which were annexed to the revocation, were or were not fulfilled; and upon their fulfilment what do these letters direct? They direct restitution of the property.

Now, Sir, I am ready to contend before the Court, that these letters alone (even if the Decree which has been since communicated had never reached this country) furnish sufficient grounds to shew to the Court, that that which was the ground-work and foundation of these Orders, according to the declaration of the Court itself, namely, that against which they were retaliatory, had ceased to have effect; that they are also sufficiently promulgated by the French Government to satisfy the words of the Order of the 21st of April; for I ask the Court what is a promulgation, but the communication of an instrument to those who are to carry it into effect? The Court has asked, whether or not the French edict itself has been published in any gazette:—(*Sir William Scott. I asked for information as to the matter of fact.*) —I did conceive, (I do not know whether I am right), that the object of the Court in asking that question might be from a notion arising in the mind of the Court, that a publication in a gazette was such a promulgation as it would expect to have, and as was expected by the British Government. I do not know whether I was right in conceiving that was the view of the Court; but having so conceived, I refer to it in this part of my argument.

Sir, I have never yet heard, and I am to learn, that there does exist in France any custom of publishing and printing the Decrees of the Executive Government in any public paper whatsoever. It is undoubtedly

the custom in this country to insert proclamations in the Gazette, which is a printed paper of the Government itself; but I know of no such paper existing in France, no paper which has such a relation to the French Government. True it is, that the edicts of France have generally, in the course of events, made their appearance in the Moniteurs; and so it does happen that the orders and proclamations of the Crown in this kingdom find their way into any of our newspapers; but I am yet to learn, and I am confident that the counsel for the captors will not be able to shew to the Court, that the French Government has ever adopted any custom of having a regular official insertion of any of its decrees or edicts in any French newspaper whatsoever; and if that is the case, I am very confident that the Court will not, from the mere circumstance of a practice existing in this country to make such a publication in the Gazette, expect that France shall be bound to adhere to such a practice, and to promulgate her decrees in such a manner, in order to give them operation and effect; and, if a letter from one of the Ministers of State, saying that he is authorised by the Emperor to direct the President of the Council of Prizes to restore all vessels seized under the Berlin and Milan Decrees, because they are revoked and at an end, is sufficient to satisfy the mind of the person sitting in judgment there, I am confident the Court will think it sufficient to satisfy the judgment of this Court, and to satisfy the Government of this country.

Sir, it is in this country the constant practice of the Executive Government to publish its orders relative to our foreign relations, as affecting the commerce of neutral

nations, by an order of the King in Council, or by a proclamation: the Executive Government is not bound to any particular course, and the two Declarations now before the Court prove, that the Executive Government does not feel itself to be so bound, for they are two of a different description; but I am by no means sure, that, if the King should think fit to communicate to this Court, through a letter from the Secretary of State, or the First Lord of the Admiralty, that its Orders in Council were rescinded, and that no condemnations were to take place under them for the future, the Court would hold itself bound to disregard such a communication; I am not aware that the Court would think itself authorized to say, that, unless it were done by an order of the King in Council, and by the insertion of that order in the Gazette, it would not take notice of such order. I am not aware that such a question has arisen in this country; but I am inclined to believe, that, supposing such a case to arise, and the Court to be called upon to act, it would feel very great difficulty in condemning any neutral property, if His Majesty, through the Secretary of State, or the First Lord of the Admiralty, had communicated to the Court that the Orders were revoked; but, whether that is or is not a practice conformable with the usage of this country, if it has never been the custom of the French Government, as a necessary circumstance, to print publicly its decrees for the purpose of giving them effect, I do not conceive the Court has the right to expect such a line of conduct from it; but that, which it is most important for us to look to, is, whether these directions so communicated have had their effect or not.

Sir, by the evidence, which was offered yesterday in a form less authentic, than that which the Court had a right to demand, and which will come before it in a perfectly authentic and unexceptionable form hereafter, it will appear to the Court that in every instance the French Revocatory Decrees have been obeyed; that in every instance, vessels which have been detained, under an apprehension that the Decrees of Berlin and Milan might still be in existence, have been unconditionally restored. My learned friend, who spoke before me on behalf of the Claimants, informed us, that there were affidavits ready to be presented to the Court, stating, upon the oaths of the masters of certain American vessels, that, having been bound to British ports, and having been searched by French privateers, they had been (my learned friend said inadvertently) restored. I allude to it to correct what he said: the fact is, they were permitted to proceed, not restored, and they supply the other part of the evidence: that on the part of the American Minister shews particular vessels restored under circumstances, which, if the Berlin and Milan Decrees had been in force, would have rendered it impossible for them to have been restored; and further, that no vessels have been condemned. The affidavits presented to the Court will tend to shew, that the cruizers and privateers of France (which are more likely than the regular navy of France to trespass upon the rights of neutral vessels) have received directions from the French Government to consider the Decrees revoked; that they have considered them as revoked; and that, knowing that a trespass had been committed against those Decrees if still in force, they suffered the Ame-

rican vessels to proceed: therefore I conceive that a complete case will be made out before the Court, when it shall have the official communication of the American Minister, and the affidavits of the masters of the vessels that have been so searched and permitted to proceed, that the French Decrees are considered as completely revoked with respect to American ships.

Sir, the next point which I must consider is, whether a revocation of the French Decrees, as far as concerns America, and as far as concerns American trade upon the high seas, without a revocation of the municipal parts of their enactments, is sufficient to take away the retaliatory ground, upon which alone the Orders in Council, if they can be retained, must stand. In the first place, as to a revocation with regard to America alone, my learned friend who spoke first on behalf of the captors, quoted the case of the Samson, in which the Court expressed that it felt considerable difficulties with respect to what would be the effect of a revocation as to one neutral nation, and not as to all neutral navigation. His Majesty's Advocate has stated that the Court would not trust itself to enter into political speculations of that nature. Now, Sir, I fully admit that the Court might have felt considerable difficulties upon that subject, viewing it in a new light, and coming before it without any knowledge of what were the views of the Government itself upon it; but I conceive this question is completely disposed of, and that the Court need not enter into any political speculations whatever, because it knows the opinion and it knows the conduct of the British Government itself on that subject; for in the last Order in Council before you, you find that

the British Government itself, in consequence of the Edict of France repealing the Berlin and Milan Decrees against America alone, have revoked their Orders in Council as to America alone. Therefore, on what ground does His Majesty's Advocate state, that the Court would be in danger if it went into such political speculations? Are not these political speculations disposed of by the act of the British Government? Has not the Executive shewn that it does not apprehend danger, which might perhaps have made the Court think it a subject of considerable delicacy, if it had not so done? But after that which the British Government has done, it is utterly impossible to say that any mischief can arise to the British Government, to which the British Government is not willing to submit, or that anything inconsistent with the principles upon which the British Government intends to act, when the Court sees how it has acted, would arise out of the application of a similar principle to the revocation of the Berlin and Milan Decrees as to America alone.

With respect to what has been said as to American cargoes, my learned leader has sufficiently pointed out, that the revocation as to American shipping must be aken to extend to cargoes, but something further has been contended for on the part of the captors; they have stated, that if an American had possessed himself of British goods fairly, he might, consistently with neutral rights, carry them to France; those, I believe, were the words of Doctor Adams, and it has been insinuated, that as the municipal regulations of France are still in force, such British produce would still be liable to confiscation in the ports of France. Now I wish to ask my learned friend, where he will find that

principle avowed, that a neutral having possessed himself of British produce has a right to force it in the ports of France, if the French Government say it shall not be there admitted. I wish my learned friend would point out such a doctrine as conformable with and consistent with the practice of this country; if the English Government choose to exclude French wines altogether from England, does my learned friend think that an American having fairly purchased French wines, and made them his own property, has a right to force their introduction and to force their use here? I conceive, Sir, that it is perfectly consistent with all the rights of the American merchants that France should enforce her municipal regulations against the introduction or the existence of British produce within the territory of France, without furnishing any ground of complaint whatever to America, still less to this country through America.

Sir, I do not mean to say that the exclusion of British produce and British manufactures from the extensive territories of France, and all those more extended territories which labour under abject submission to the power of France, is not a great evil to this country; that it is not an act of very powerful hostility towards this country; but yet I am free to say, that it is perfectly consistent with a revocation of all those principles, which we conceive to be a departure from the established law of nations, and which, according to our own declarations, furnish the grounds of our Orders in Council. I am not stating my own opinion merely; I am also stating, I think, the opinion of His Majesty's Minister, who negociated with America; for, being pressed very much upon that point by Mr. Munroe, and, I must observe,

having anxiously, in the whole course of the correspondence, attempted to blend two subjects which are extremely distinct, (namely, the conduct of France to neutral nations upon the high seas, and her conduct with respect to the property and the produce of this country upon the Continent) having as industriously attempted to blend these subjects, as the American Minister did wisely attempt to separate them;—in his letter of the 26th of July, Mr. Foster stated, "Great "Britain never contended that British merchant vessels "should be allowed to trade with her enemies, or that "British property should be allowed entry into their "ports, as you would infer; such a pretension would "indeed be preposterous;"—then what does he add?—"but Great Britain does contend against the system of "terror put in practice by France, by which, usurping "authority wherever her arms or the timidity of nations "will permit her to extend her influence, she makes it "a crime to neutral countries, as well as individuals, "that they should possess articles, however acquired, "which may have been once the produce of English "industry, or of the British soil."—Now, Sir, if the French Government has renounced the interruption of American trade upon the seas, although the French Government, however unjustly, persists in seizing British produce in neutral territories upon the Continent, which are not lawfully subject to their dominion,—for that is the point to which the British negociator confined his objections,—what are the rights which will apply to this country in consequence of that circumstance? Supposing Prussia to be considered as a neutral state, and I must suppose that she is a neutral state in this part of the

argument, because, if she is to be taken as an enemy, there is no longer any unjust act on the part of France; because, if she is an associate with France in the war, France does not enforce any unjust stipulation against her, when Prussia assists her in measures of hostility; but taking Prussia to be a neutral state—taking her to be acting involuntarily under French compulsion, and admitting that she does confiscate and burn British produce whenever it is to be found in the dominions of Prussia, what right arises to the British Government from this? Does any right of interfering with America accrue from it? I conceive that a ground of strong complaint exists against Prussia, and that is the ground of complaint which I have always understood the British Government puts forward, that neutral nations are bound not to submit to unjust inflictions of this nature; but if America does not submit to it, and Prussia does, your ground of complaint lies against Prussia alone; you are at liberty to make war against Prussia—you are at liberty to adopt any measures of qualified hostility short of war against her; but surely nothing can arise out of that circumstance which shall give you a right to interdict the communication between America and France.—Has it ever been contended by any declaration of the British Government, by any document avowed by any person who has borne a part in the voluminous correspondence which has taken place on any part of this subject, that we have a right to insist on America defending Prussia against the aggressions of France, or any other neutral nation except herself; and if France has renounced every thing that respects America of which we com-

plained, what ground have we to proceed in any manner against America?

Sir, there is one point, with respect to the evidence which has been laid before the Court, that the Berlin and Milan Decrees have never been carried into effect . . . . (*Sir William Scott. Is that your position, that they never were carried into effect, or that they ceased to be carried into effect?*)—Never since the first of November. My learned friend stated . . . . (*The King's Advocate. The first of November*, 1810.) Yes.—My learned friend suggested that it was extremely probable these vessels were all furnished with French licences.—(*The King's Advocate. I said the representation of that fact was open to a great many probable suggestions, of which that was one.*)

I understand the American Minister will be able to state that they had not licences.

(*Doctor Lushington. That only one or two had.*)

There is a letter from the Duke of Cadore to Mr. Russell, of the 18th of January, 1811, to which I must call the attention of the Court; in that he states, that the system of licences had been conceived before the revocation of the Decrees of Berlin and Milan had been resolved upon, and that it was abandoned because it was no longer applicable to the present state of things; therefore by that letter of the Duke de Cadore, of the 18th of January, 1811, there appears not only a fresh assertion that the Berlin and Milan decrees were revoked, but also that the system of licences which had been before devised was no longer applicable to the new state of things under that revocation; and that they were

completely abandoned. Therefore from that letter alone, I think I have furnished a sufficient answer to the suggestion of His Majesty's Advocate, that licences were probably granted to these vessels.

On all these grounds, I think, I have shewn to the Court, that France has by her acts and by the conduct of her courts in consequence of her acts, completely abandoned that system which had furnished the British Government with the grounds on which she proceeded in enacting the Orders in Council; and therefore (upon the declarations of the Court itself, that they would cease to be just the moment they ceased to be retaliatory, and that the state is not at liberty to apply a harsher rule than the law of nations authorizes) I think I am entitled to call upon the Court to pronounce, that these Orders can no longer have effect, and that the American property which has been captured under them is entitled to restitution.

Sir, here is another part of this subject, namely, that which regards the intercourse with this country during the time in which her Orders in Council were in full operation. The Court has stated upon that subject that a blockade for the purpose of securing to this country a commercial monopoly would be in itself null, illegal, and void. The Court did, in the case of the Success, Smith, state, alluding to the Order of January, 1807, that it would be a gross abuse of belligerent rights if British subjects could carry on trade from which neutrals were interdicted by British orders: and then the Court used these memorable words, which will be for ever impressed upon my recollection: "It might be an advantage to Great Britain, but it is not a legitimate

advantage." The Court proceeded to say that British subjects could not trade between ports restricted by this Order, except under licences from the British Government, which had been granted with greater prodigality, because the blockade was of a reflex nature, and subject to regulation; the Court therefore has decided that the British nation is not at liberty to trade, and that individuals forming a part of the British nation are not at liberty to trade, with countries which are blockaded by the Order of this country, even although those countries may not be at war with Great Britain. And the Court has always considered that the British Government had power to make an exception to this rule by licence, and to that decision of the Court I am bound to submit; at the same time, upon a question of such importance, perhaps I may be permitted to say that I have found great difficulty in understanding exactly what was the principle upon which the Court was led to pronounce that decision; and I am anxious to learn exactly what that principle was, that I may be able to know how to apply it to other cases as they arise. If I have ever understood what the meaning of the word licence is, I have conceived it to be a permission to do something which trespasses on the right of another person coming from the person whose right would be so invaded, and I am yet to learn upon what principle the Court came to the conclusion that that party which is about to commit a trespass can give it authority. I am yet to learn what was the principle upon which the Court determined that, if the British nation generally has not a right to trade to a port that is blockaded, the Executive Government of the British country can give such authority by its own

permission. I have always conceived that a right to trespass in my field could not be given by the person who sends his servant to commit the trespass; and therefore I confess that though looking at this subject with the greatest anxiety, for the purpose of discovering the fundamental principles upon which it rested, I have laboured under considerable difficulty in finding what were the grounds which induced the Court to adopt that opinion. I know that the Churt has adopted it, and to that decision I bow with perfect humility. But what has the Court stated in its judgment? It has stated as the ground upon which these measures were excepted from the general rule, that the subjects of the blockading state cannot trade to the blockaded place; that they are measures of a reflex nature, and retaliatory; and therefore if I have reasoned with success in attempting to shew that these measures are no longer retaliatory;—that they no longer possess that character which alone took them out of the consideration of that strong view of the subject which the Court entertained, when it said, though it might be advantageous to Great Britain, it was not a legitimate advantage;—if I have shewn that they are no longer retaliatory; then upon that ground also, then upon the decision of the Court, and the language that it used in that respect, I have a right also to call upon the Court to pronounce that these Orders are null and void on account of the sort of intercourse which has been carried on between France and this country.

Upon that subject also there is a case in which the Court has decided the point; the Emanuel, in November 1799, in which on the second preliminary point, viz.

"That an English trading with this French colony must "at all events be deemed an authorization of the same "trade to the subjects of other countries;" the Court said, "I have only to observe that it might be admitted to have "that effect, if the fact were true in the degree necessary "to support that conclusion. A trading between the "dominions of Great Britain and Saint Domingo could "authorize no more than a trading between the neutral "country itself and that colony." I conceive when the Court said it could authorize no more, the Court did very distinctly recognize that it did so far give authority.

Sir, having upon the general point attempted to shew, that even upon the previous documents of which we are in possession, (documents which were not before the Court at the time when it pronounced its decision upon the other American cases in the last year), the Court will now be bound to pronounce restitution, I have now to advert to the Declaration of the 21st of April; and from that it appears that the British Government, at the time when it issued this declaration did not conceive that the French Decrees were revoked; that the English Government did not come to that conviction which is now generally entertained, and which, I hope, I have prevailed upon the Court to entertain, upon a view of the documents before it, and of the evidence to be supplied; but that, conceiving that the Decrees of the French were still in force, believing that they were still carried into effect, the English Government published a proclamation to say, that if at any time hereafter they should be repealed by an authentic act, publicly promulgated, the Orders in Council should cease and be at an end; and now the objection which is taken, and

which is gravely urged by the Court, as if it were a serious objection, though in my humble apprehension it does not deserve that character, is that the British Government have made use of the word "hereafter." Now, Sir, if the British Government did believe that the French Decrees were still in effect, it was extremely natural they should apply the word "hereafter" to the repeal they looked for; but is it thence to be inferred (if it should afterwards appear by evidence and by documents laid before the Court, that the repeal had actually taken place at an earlier date) that the time which is pointed out in the word hereafter, could be a substantial and an essential part of the object which His Majesty's Government had in view? I imagine that such a point cannot be successfully maintained. The Court well knows that in all trusts that are raised, where the words are used, "Children to be lawfully begotten," or, "that shall be lawfully begotten," it is generally held that the futurity which is pointed out by the strict words that are made use of is perfectly immaterial, and that the main object of the person who raises the trust is to be considered; that his object clearly being to benefit persons lawfully born from the bodies of the two whom he names, although they should have been born long before the term at which that trust is raised, using words that have a future reference, it is perfectly valid with respect to those who were born before. That is so notorious that I conceive the contrary has never been contended, and it is the uniform course of practice so to consider the instrument. Is there anything in this instrument to mark to the Court that the Government had a decided intention that the revocation of the

Berlin and Milan Decrees should take place in future, and that the substance of that which the Government desired was not, that the Berlin and Milan Decrees should no longer operate against British commerce and against neutrals trading with Great Britain. If the substance of that which we have desired is satisfied, then the mere allusion to future time which has been adopted, under the circumstance of the British Government imagining they were still in force, does not go to the essence of its intention. It is not in the spirit in which the Court is to interpret its conduct; it would be a mere idle and trivial quibble; one most unworthy of a great country to adopt; one most unworthy of this Court to give countenance to; one that would bear the semblance of intending to keep a strong hand upon property which had accidentally come under our power, at the same time that we felt ourselves under the necessity of abandoning the great principles upon which we have always maintained, that the injuries which befel neutral commerce were necessarily incidental; that they were objects of deep regret to Great Britain; that Great Britain was anxious in every manner to alleviate them. All these professions, which have been so often thrown out to the world, must be considered merely as delusions, if on a paltry quibble of a word standing in this instrument, not pointing to the great object of the English Government, this forfeiture was to take place.

Sir, there was a point which was stated by my learned friend Doctor Stoddart; namely, that by the French decrees, not by the French decrees indeed, but by these reports which have no authority as such and will not be acted upon by the French Courts, it appeared that the decrees were still

to be in force as to denationalized flags; and my learned friend attempted to shew that American ships having British property on board would be considered as denationalized, and would become again subject to condemnation in France; and he stated that in that report, which he called a decree, there was a sort of re-enactment against America. Now, if that had been so, that communication, supposing it likely to be carried into effect against America, would still be a measure merely of a municipal nature; but I contend that nothing of that nature appears upon the face of the French Decrees; the Milan Decree declares what ships are to be condemned, and it says, "Ships that have been submitted "to be searched by an English ship, or to a voyage to "England, or which shall have paid any tax to the "British Government." But there is no part of the French Decrees in which they have pointed out, or attempted to point out, that an American ship is liable to be condemned for having British property on board; and it never was a part of their system; and, as I have attempted to shew to the Court, the seizure of British goods was aimed at as retaliatory to the complaints against Great Britain, in which America was not concerned, and was carried into effect on the Continent only, as appears by the report to which I have referred.

My learned friend, Doctor Jenner, stated to the Court that if it pronounced restitution in the present instance, it must consider to what extent it might go; and it might also go to the extent of rescinding the judgment it had pronounced in the course of the last year, in those cases which were then adjudged. I confess that I was astonished at hearing my learned friend, with

whose liberality I never have had occasion to find fault, condescend to have recourse to such an argument, and gravely put it to the feelings of the Court, that it is not to do justice to the present claimants, because that measure of justice may extend to other persons, whose cases are now not definitively decided upon, but decided upon by this Court, subject to the revision of the Court of Appeal. I am sure that the Court will pay no attention to a suggestion of that sort: if it were to grant it a moment's hearing, the Court would subject itself to the imputation of wishing to stretch the law for the purpose of keeping a strong hand on the property of neutral nations; an imputation which the Court has never deserved, and to which I am confident the Court will never render itself liable.

One other circumstance my learned friend alluded to:—he stated that this Court had, in its decision upon the case of the Fox, laid down that the proper evidence of the revocation of the Orders in Council for this Court to receive was a regular and formal notification to that effect from the British Government; and he has proceeded to say, that as a formal notification to that effect has not appeared, arguing as he then did that the declaration of the 21st of April was not satisfied, the Court, not having such a declaration, was bound by its own judgment not to pronounce that the Orders in Council were at an end, or to accept any other evidence than a public and formal declaration by the Government itself. I must beg leave to say, that in my apprehension the very contrary has been the determination of the Court. I am astonished that any person who heard the Court - that any person who has looked to the pro-

ceedings of the Court should entertain an opinion, which, if true, would be so injurious to the character and the credit of the Court. The Court pronounced its judgment upon the arguments which it had heard in the case of the Fox and other vessels, and what did the Court do? Having pronounced its judgment upon the arguments, it delayed the final decree of condemnation for the purpose of giving the claimants an opportunity of producing (if they could) fresh evidence from France of the revocation of the Berlin and Milan decrees. Is my learned friend at this time of day to state to us, that, when the Court gave further time for the production of further evidence from France, it had completely shut the door against the application of that evidence when produced?—that giving time for the production of such evidence, notifying its readiness to admit such, if it should be procured, it had already determined the question, that no evidence of that nature, that nothing short of a formal revocation of the decrees, notified by the British Government itself, should have any effect on the sentence it was to give? Why, Sir, if the conduct of the Court could have been of the nature which my learned friend most injuriously represented, the conduct of the Court would have been like that of an untutored boy, who displays the worst feelings that are innate in the human mind, when, having transfixed an innoxious and defenceless insect, he spins it in the air for the purpose of rejoicing in its sufferings, and delighting in the extended period of its agony. I am confident that nothing of that nature is to be attributed to the Court; I am confident the Court will act up to that which it has pledged itself to do, having determined

to admit evidence from France of the revocation of the French Edicts. The Court has stated, that it would be proper to receive such a notification from the British Government, and nobody denies that position—it is expected by all the world—it is expected (as has been stated) by the American Minister himself, that the British Government should rescind the Orders in Council; and the Court has a right to form the same expectation; but does it from thence follow, when the Government has left the construction of the law to the Court, that the Court is bound not to do justice to claimants, because the British Government has delayed to do that which the world expected from it? Upon these grounds I stand secure. I call upon the Court to do justice to America. I call upon the Court to redeem the pledge which I think it has given to America, that, if satisfactory evidence shall be produced of the revocation of the Berlin and Milan Decrees, it will restore this property. I call upon the Court to shew, by its decision upon this day, that the delay it interposed between the argument and the final sentence of condemnation in those cases, was not merely illusory; that it was not merely a deception practised on the claimants in this Court, for the purpose of giving the colour and appearance of deliberate examination to a sentence of prejudged and predetermined confiscation.

Sir, there is only one point more upon which I wish to say some few words, which is with respect to the species of evidence which the Court has been in the habit of receiving in cases of this nature. The case to which I particularly refer is that of the Lucy, Taylor: in that case the Court recollects that a British Order in Council

having stated, that, whereas France held sales of ships to a neutral from a belligerent to be illegal, and it was right to apply the same rule which they applied, the sales from a belligerent to a neutral should be held null and void; the Court did consider, that as the French appeared not to have applied that rule to prize vessels, it followed from the very meaning and words of the preamble, that the English Government had not intended so to do, and therefore decided that in that case the purchase of a vessel, which had been a prize, regularly condemned, should be upheld. Now what was the species of reasoning of the Court at that time? I heard it suggested, that the Court must in those cases of restitution under the Berlin and Milan Decrees, have some regular returns made from the French courts themselves; that it must have the particulars of the dates and the extracts from the sentence of restitution of the Courts in France. Now I wish to understand whether it has been customary for the Court to expect any thing of that kind in cases of this nature, and the Court will feel that the case of the Lucy, Taylor, is one of a parallel nature. What was produced in that case? (*Sir William Scott. The Edict of the French Government.*)—I believe nothing of that sort was produced.—(*Sir William Scott. I beg your pardon; it was, at my own suggestion.*)—But I apprehend nothing of that sort was produced in the evidence. The Court had discovered in a book, as it appears in the report of that case, a letter of the French King to the Lord High Admiral of France; but I wish to know, what was the evidence the Court had, that the Republican Government had continued to act upon that letter of the King; I imagine that the Court did proceed upon no very clear

communications.—(*Doctor Jenner. The Court laid it upon the captors to find that they had exceeded the limits of that document, and it stood over some days for them to shew that which they could not.*)—Then I hope that in conformity with that precedent, when the American Minister shall have announced to the Government, and the Government announced to the Court, that no condemnations have been made under the Berlin and Milan Decrees, since the first of November, 1810, the Court will (in conformity, I say, with that precedent) throw the burthen on the captors of shewing that any condemnations have since taken place.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE ARTICLE

ON THE HARMONY OF LANGUAGE.

[illegible]

It is remarkable that viola, a violet, accented on the first by the Romans, is now viola amongst the Italians. I can only account for this singular change of the accent, by supposing that the word was usually spoken rapidly in conversation, and by the uneducated, so as to make the [illegible] with the o, as in the cases of principio, &c. which would necessarily force the accent on to the o, viola, or [illegible] Wallflowers and stocks are also called viola in Italy, and Pliny states that some violets are [illegible] called phlox or fire, meaning [illegible] the wallflower. Their fine scent [illegible] to be originally considered as sorts of

violet. The English word jillyflower is therefore not, as Johnson states, corrupted from July-flower or Giroflée, but the Italian name under which the vjolaflower was imported, and vjola was probably the root of giallo, yellow. The English word yellow was in my youth universally pronounced yal-low, and correctly, for the word is the Italian giallo. Pedantic governesses are now teaching young ladies to pronounce it wrong with a short e, and their influence is extending amongst the young men. If any correction were made, the spelling should be rectified by changing the e to a. When, in 1805, I cited coin and cloister as instances of the diphthongal sound au-i, join, boil, loin, were still spoken by most people, as Pope and Dryden pronounced them, jine, bile, līne; a change in the pronunciation from ī to au-i is now become universal; but it was made originally without reason, because in join au-i is not more like, than the English ī, either to the original sound ĕu in the Latin jungere, or to oo-eŭ in the French joigne. The change has falsified and destroyed the effect of the rhymes of our standard poets. I before r in English has usually the sound of the short eu, more or less modified by the force given to the r; stir, stirrup, bird, girl, squirrel, curd, burr, curry, have properly all the short ĕu; some teachers now require ladies to draw their lips closer, and substitute a short continental i improperly in squirrel. A habit is also arising amongst the ill-taught of calling Sā'tan, Saytan. Those, who fall into that error, might be expected to call the apparel of the ladies say-tin. The name is in Greek Sātan, or Sātānâs, in Latin Sātānās, and it is to be pronounced Sāt-an. The following stanzas are framed according to the laws, temporal and accentual, of Alcaic verse, for the sole purpose of

exemplifying practically the force of accent and quantity; shewing that (by a selection of words which conform with the Latin rule that in dissyllables the first shall bear the accent, and in others the last syllable but one, when long; but, when it is short, the last syllable but two shall be accented) a correct ode may be written in our language after the manner of Horace. These stanzas, set to such music of a stringed instrument, as would suit their variations, might give a tolerable notion of the effect of the Latin ode when sung to the Horatian lyre. It must be remembered that we falsify the quantity of Acīdălia, saying Acidalia, and that a double consonant is with us a sign that the preceding syllable is short; heāting, hitting, bated, Betty, dah-lia, dally. Prŏtéct, not conforming with Latin accentuation, cannot hold the place of colit; but protect us and protect it may fairly stand in the position of colemus or colebat.

Strike the harp, my comrade! warblē a symphony,
Waking the numbers sweetly melodious,
Which often have moved us to rapture,
When a shady valley reclining!

Crown with the cup with rōses on its cōver,
Wreathing the myrtē flexibly round the sides!
Stern Care with his gloom shall not harm us
By melody and merry lays delighted!

O lovely Venus, queen of the Memphians,
Hear our beseeching! Leave Acidalia,
Quit Paphos and deep-adept Cythēra,
Mighty Goddess, visit our abiding!

Come, and protect us, heavenly arbitress
Of mortal hopes and changeable destiny!
With Graces and immortal Hebe
[illegible] chosen us!

Without the witching mystery, that pleăsure
Winds round the senses, lovely-bŏsom'd wŏman
Were vainly bȳ man's wise Creator
Sent as an help to his hour of anguish.

Love soothes the fiercest; baneful ĕnormities
Shrink from the scene, where shrined in his ecstacy
Love breathes his ardors, and prĕsiding
Beauty glĭtters mid a cloud of incense.

Attune the lyre-strings, Father of harmony!
God of the bow with bright quĭver and ărrows!
Let sweet adoratiôn resounding
Draw the Gŏddess from Olympus hoary!

O hear aloft, thou Queen o' the beautiful!
Serene the soft airs tremble at her cŏming;
Delĭghtful enchantment awakens
All the bŏsom's tremulous dĕvotiôn.

LETTER

To the Chairman of the Committee of the House of Commons on the Game Laws, April 27, 1823.

My Lord, in 1802, I put into the hands of the late Lord Chancellor Rosslyn the manuscript of a pamphlet, concerning three points, which then appeared to me of the utmost importance in our domestic policy, one of which was the increase of crime originating in the game laws. The plan, by which I proposed to remedy the evil, was to legalise the sale of game under certain regulations therein detailed. Being young, I had not courage to publish it. On my return to parliament, in 1806, I was desirous of introducing a bill for the purpose of carrying

that plan into effect, but the speedy dissolution of parliament prevented me; and, having afterwards found a great indisposition amongst members of the House to interfere with the game laws, I let the subject rest, enforcing, however, in conversation, whenever an opportunity occurred during the last twenty years, the advantages that would arise from the adoption of the plan which I proposed. Understanding that an arrangement of the same nature has been lately suggested to the House by a petition from Yorkshire (whether derived from the plan which I have so often detailed to various persons in conversation, or from a coincidence of opinion, it is immaterial to inquire), I am anxious that the committee upon the game laws, and the House, should be in possession of the exact detail of my own, while the subject of the game laws is under consideration. It is notorious, that poaching is generally the first step in a lawless course of life; it is equally notorious, that no severity of fine or punishment has been able to lessen its prevalence; and I consider it to be not less certain, that all penalties, even the infliction of capital punishment on the offender, would fail of producing that effect, and would merely raise the price of game to the purchaser, by the amount of the insurance of the sum of that penalty, if pecuniary, or of the sum for which a man would be willing to risk his liberty or life, if corporeal. As long as wealth is enjoyed by persons who do not possess land, so long they will persist in obtaining game for their tables by unlawful means, if lawful purchase is denied them; and the gross injustice of refusing, to so large a portion of the wealthy inhabitants of the kingdom, the privilege of buying one of the luxuries which it produces, entirely takes away all moral scruples on the

subject from the purchasers of game dishonestly obtained, which they would feel in full force if a lawful market were open to them. The furnishing an easy lawful market is, therefore, the only practicable mode of destroying the illegal sale; and the only rational inquiry is, what are the necessary guards to render that market not injurious to the persons who have at present an interest in the game, without diminishing the rights which any persons at present enjoy. Game cannot be sold generally without facilitating the sale by every person who may kill it illegally. The persons, therefore, allowed to sell it to retailers, should be those who have the greatest interest *in its preservation;* and those who retail it must be few, so that their conduct may be easily investigated; and it must be made their interest not to purchase it from the unlawful seller. * * * * *

[*Here followed the scheme, which is more fully detailed in the petition.*] I consider, that under the above regulations an ample supply will be opened for the public; that no right, at present enjoyed, will be diminished; that the licensed retailer will supplant the illegal seller, and be deterred from obtaining game from him; that purchasers will be generally prevented by the penalty, if not by moral scruples, from seeking to purchase it unlawfully, when they can easily obtain it from the lawful dealer. The privilege of selling to the retailer, which is thus given to the lords of manors, and which cannot well be extended farther, will produce no inconvenience to any other person, for it is not proposed to give the lord any right as to the pursuit or preservation of game beyond what he at present possesses. Unpreserved and neglected manors will probably be rented by the principal retailers,

or by persons contracting to supply them, who will find it their interest to conciliate the good will of the occupiers of the land, and to give them compensation for any injury they may sustain. The game in the country will increase in proportion to the demand; the call for that which is illegally killed will in a short time entirely cease, and the inducement to poach extensively will be removed. The stock for the amusement of sportsmen will be enlarged; the diversion of shooting upon manors rented for the market will become obtainable for money, and no class of persons will be likely to find any unpleasant result.

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PETITION

Of the undersigned W. Herbert, Rector of Spofforth, presented, read, and printed in the votes of the House of Commons, May 22, 1833. *No.* 668.

The Petitioner, having heretofore devised a plan for the better prevention of crimes, originating in the consequences of the game laws, did, on the 7th day of April last, address to the chairman of a committee of the House on the game laws, a letter wherein the principal features of the same, and the grounds thereof, were shortly detailed. Having learnt that a bill has since been laid before the House, in which it is proposed to permit any persons qualified by lands and tenements, or some other estate or inheritance, after having taken out a certificate and given notice that he is qualified, to sell game to any persons licensed for a year to retail the same by any two magistrates at Petty Sessions, after notice given, the

said licence being signed by seven magistrates, and the person obtaining it entering into a recognizance only to buy from those who are authorized to sell it, the petitioner humbly begs to represent, that an inducement will thus be offered to an infinity of persons of small property, qualified perhaps by houses in towns without an acre of land, to trespass successively on different estates where game is preserved, for the purpose of selling the produce of their inroads, and an opportunity offered to them of making the permission a cloak for illegal trade in game, which they may purchase from poachers, and sell again to the licensed retailers. The evidence before the Committee of the House has fully established that penal laws are inefficient to check the unlawful destruction of game; that any quantity can be obtained from poachers at any time of the year, if required, but that in the season when the demand for game ceases, the supply is stopped, thereby confirming that which is the foundation of the petitioner's system, and which indeed was so self-evident, that it scarcely required to be confirmed by evidence, that the only mode of checking the illegal destruction of game is to lessen the demand for game so destroyed. It is proved by the said evidence that the main supply of the *London* salesman is obtained from poachers, never directly, but through the hands of middle-men; and the salesmen are all of opinion that if a lawful supply were open to themselves, the poacher would be put down; but the petitioner humbly submits that the House should not be led by that opinion so loosely stated to overlook a fundamental question, namely, when a salesman shall have been authorized to obtain game from persons qualified by £100 a year, arising out of lands or houses, what

security there will be, or what reason there is for entertaining the slightest hope, that persons so qualified will not buy from the poachers, and act as middle-men. Consumers will not generally buy at a risk from the poachers, when they can buy at a fair price from the licensed dealer: the salesman will not sell for the poacher, when he can safely obtain what is wanted from the qualified man; but the qualified man will for the sake of profit deal with the poacher, and become the middle-man between him and the retailer; without better guards to the lawful market the gentleman cannot be expected to undersell the poacher, and the result of the said bill, if carried into law, will be merely the substitution of qualified middle-men, acting fraudulently under the shelter of the law, for the unqualified middle-men who now supply the salesmen; the demand for game will be increased by the removal of the present risk and impediments, the supply of game will be divided between the gentleman and the poacher (as indeed it is at present), and the trade of the poacher facilitated by the opportunities which he will acquire through the means of qualified persons. By the said bill the licensed dealer is exonerated from any penalty if the person from whom he buys, though not qualified, has taken out his certificate and stated to the Clerk of the Commissioners that he is qualified, by which regulation, any man taking out a certificate in *London*, and stating himself to be qualified, being careful to do no open act there which will call his qualification into question, may become the middle-man for poachers in any or every part of *England*, and the licensed dealers who purchase from him, even if proved to be cognizant of the whole fraud, will not have

infringed the law. It is however immaterial whether the said clause requiring a qualification is effectual or not, since thousands of persons possessing £100 a year in houses, will be found willing to carry on this traffic at the risk of the existing penalties, if detected, and the detection will be scarcely practicable if they shoot much themselves. Under the enactments of the said bill, men qualified by houses in *London* may start annually on a shooting excursion and successively trespass on every preserved farm in *England*, filling the bag till a legal notice is served on them, and immediately proceeding to another estate, and every evening remit the produce of their day's work to a salesman; thus paying their travelling expences from the twelfth of August to the first of February, and probably returning home with fair profit without the transgression of any law. The Petitioner apprehends that there are three distinct sources of complaint under the existing laws: 1st. The privileges of lords of manors, and persons qualified by rank or by certain amount and species of income, to the exclusion of proprietors and occupiers who have not such distinctions; 2d. The prohibition restraining all persons from buying game, which is one of the abundant products of the land; 3d. The illegal traffic, with all its baneful attendants and consequences, which arises partly from that prohibition, and partly from the transitory and imperfect property, which, under any laws, the preserver of game must have in animals which are not domesticated. The Petitioner conceives, that however desirable it may be to remove all the causes of complaint, no person who is not infatuated by prejudice or interest, can deny that the third evil is of paramount

magnitude; and the consideration of the two former should be subordinate to the last, and that in framing any new regulations, it must be the principal care, in attempting to embrace the lesser objects, not to defeat that which is of main importance, namely, the diminution of criminal habits, and of all that misery and guilt which is fostered by the present system, and which might dispose the philanthropist to wish the annihilation of all the game in the kingdom; a consummation which would indeed be preferable to the continuance of all the existing evils, though it should be remembered, that it is an object of great importance to the community, and not least to the poor, that the gentry should have amusements which give them hardy habits, and induce them to reside on their estates, or even in the kingdom; but, looking to the Bill which has been laid before the House, the Petitioner apprehends that even a general permission to all persons to kill game on the land they occupy, and sell it when so killed, would, in some points of view, be preferable to its enactments, which do not remove the complaints of the unprivileged classes, but instead of relieving the holder of the land which bears the game, gives an advantage to the owners of houses in towns, a class of privileged depredators, who have no just claim to special favour, and sets them up as legalized plunderers by day, and secret receivers of nightly rapine from the needy; aggravating thus two at least of the evils of the present system, by adding to the obnoxious privileges, and rather increasing than diminishing the facility and encouragement of crime. Such a permission however to all occupiers, even if otherwise desirable, would not remove the great source of evil, but by

opening the market generally, and encouraging the breed of game, would present a wider field for nocturnal depredators. The Petitioner apprehends that the transitory and exposed nature of the property must always render it an allurement to the needy and unprincipled, and that there is but one mode by which that allurement can be removed, which is the substitution of a lawful for an unlawful market, and, by every means which human foresight can devise, preventing an unlawful supply from becoming subsidiary to it; and to this point the undivided attention of the House should be directed, remembering, that if, for the purpose of gaining inferior objects also, a subsidiary illegal supply be let in, the main object will be lost, and the reins given again to vice and misery and punishment; that if, on the other hand, by regulations to the effect of those which were suggested by the Petitioner, an easy market should be opened, and the inducements to let in a surreptitious supply taken from those who are concerned in it, without producing any new inconvenience to any person in the kingdom, a blow will be struck thereby at the root of that great stock of vice which has proceeded from the game laws, and a great good will be effected without any concomitant evil. The Petitioner humbly represents that it was proposed by him *to confine the privilege of supplying the retail dealers mith game to those who have an evident interest in preserving it;* the importance of which limitation must be readily understood, whereas the Bill which has been laid before the House gives it also to some of those *who have solely an interest in destroying*, without means or opportunities of preserving it, limiting, however, the privilege to per-

sons possessing certain qualifications, without any apparent advantage from its being so limited, since it is impossible to conceive why it should be more desirable that a man who carries a gun in right of a house or rent-charge, should sell game, than one who carries it by right of rank, or one who has bought the game and wishes to dispose of it again. It is a limitation without motive, having no justice in itself, and affording no security against unlawful dealings; the man, who has the qualification required, is not less likely to poach than a man who has rank or pecuniary wealth; and, if he is less likely to poach than the pauper, he is not less likely to become the medium and promoter of unlawful trade, under cover of the permission which it is proposed to give to him. Every possible guard should be devised to prevent the person, to whom the permission of selling game shall be granted, from using it fraudulently, in which respect the said bill appears to be fatally deficient; and, if the permission can be extended beyond the limits suggested by the petitioner, without defeating the main object, it can only be done by requiring large recognizances from the persons to whom it is extended, only to sell game killed on their own estates, and to keep accessible books, with correct entries of all particulars, when and where, and by whom, it was killed, and to whom, and when, it was sold, the retailer being permitted to buy of such only as shall have registered such a recognizance. It should, however, be remembered, that the wider the permission is extended beyond what is necessary to guard against monopoly, the more danger there will be of letting in the poacher; and it is not proposed to give the privilege of selling to a particular class of per-

sons *out of favour to them*, but *for the purpose of working a great public good*, through the means of the advantage which is conferred on them, namely, the establishment of a lawful market, on such a footing as shall give reasonable hopes of shutting out the lawless plunderer. The petitioner further begs leave to represent, that, although it may be thought at first, that the regulations he has suggested do not remove the remaining cause of complaint, namely, that which relates to qualifications, it opens the way for removing it altogether; and in the first instance, by the privilege of selling given to Lords of manors, they will have a new inducement to offer the unprivileged owner or occupier of land a valuable rent for the game upon his farm; and, though the occupier is not enabled to sell the game dead, he will be enabled to do what in fact amounts to selling it alive, namely, to let the right of pursuing it on his land to a much better advantage than he can at present, because there will exist a lawful course through which it may be converted into money, and a possible channel will be opened for the whole game of the country to come into the market, though the responsibility and opportunities of fraud will be confined to a smaller number, and those of a class who are least likely to betray the trust, being generally respectable, and having an interest in the preservation of game; that where the Lord of the manor shall not happen to have a large estate within it, the usual result will be, either that he will make an arrangement with the land-holders for permission to pursue the game, or that the principal land-holder will rent the manor, and make an arrangement with such of the others as shall be desirous of value for the game on their land; that when the effects of the

suggested regulations shall have been experienced (the lawful market supplanting the illegal trader), it will be found that all difficulty with respect to relieving the law of qualifications will be at an end, and that there will remain no adequate reason for not permitting any occupier to kill game upon his farm, if not restricted by the proprietor, or any individual to kill game upon any land, with the consent of the occupier, a summary process being given against trespassers, and the sale of game continuing always limited in the same manner; that if such an enactment were subjoined, there would be an end of all jealousy against the right of Lords of manors, which, in truth, is not in itself obnoxious, because, without the good will of the owner or occupier of land it is dead letter and unavailable, and it is only thought obnoxious now by comparison, because the killing is absolutely withheld from the unqualified landholder; that all the hardship of the law of qualifications would be thus removed, and its penalties only remain in force against the wanton trespasser; that an easy market would be opened to the public, and the needy man discouraged from nightly depredations by the difficulty of disposing of his game to the consumers, who must buy from him under severe penalties, while a lawful market is at hand; and that reasonable expectations may be entertained that, thus modified, the game laws, which are at present the source of vice and misery and widely-extended complaint, would become productive of universal satisfaction. The petitioner therefore humbly prays the House to take into consideration the expediency of amending the eighth clause of the said bill, intituled, "A bill to egalize the sale of game, and for other purposes therein mentioned,"

For the purpose of requiring thereby the quantity of each sort of game sent by a public conveyance to be specified in the way-bill, and the way-bill to be preserved for a certain time by the person who has charge of it, and enacting a penalty against every sender of game omitting to deliver a true statement of the particulars required, and the person having charge of the way-bill for any incorrect entry or omission of the same, or any part thereof; and also of striking out and omitting the whole of the first, second, third, and fourth clauses of the said Bill, and of introducing, in their stead clauses to the following effect, in such words as to the House, in its wisdom, shall seem fit: videlicet, that from and after the it shall be lawful for the majority of Magistrates for the county, riding, city, town, division, or place where the party applying for such licence shall reside, assembled at any general or quarter sessions of the peace, to grant to any person, being a householder, a licence, to be signed by the Chairman of the said quarter sessions, empowering the person to whom the same shall be granted, unless and until the same shall be forfeited and become null and void, or shall be revoked by the majority of the Magistrates assembled at any quarter sessions of the peace for the said county, riding, city, town, division, or place, to buy game of and from any Lord or Lady of a Manor, having appointed a gamekeeper, and taken out a certificate for a gamekeeper, for his or her own use, and of and from any person having taken out a certificate for a gamekeeper appointed for his or her use by any lord or lady of a manor, through the agency of his or her gamekeeper, or of his or her servant or agent acting in that respect in lieu of the gamekeeper, and to sell and retail the said game in or from such particular market town as shall be specified in the said licence, provided always that not more than such licences shall be granted for the city of London, or for Westminster, or for any city or town whereof the population shall not be reputed to exceed souls, or two for any other town, without the consent to the issuing a certain greater number of licences of the majority of persons for whose use any gamekeeper is appointed for any manor within 20 miles of the city or town for which such licences are to be granted, signified in writing to the said Magistrates assembled at the quarter sessions of the peace; and the said magistrates shall grant any licence to sell game to any person producing a written recommendation from the greatest number of such persons for whose use any gamekeeper has been and is appointed for any manor within 20 miles of the city or town for which such licence is to be granted, in preference to any person producing the

recommendation of fewer or of none of such persons; but that no licence granted by the majority of the said Magistrates shall be null or void in consequence of any error of the said Magistrates with respect to such consent or recommendations; and that for every such licence the sum of and no more shall be payable to the Clerk of the Peace for his trouble in filling-up such licence; and that every such licence shall be in the form prescribed by the Schedule to this Act marked A.; and that every person to whom such licence shall be granted shall, upon such licence being granted, enter into a recognizance to the King's Majesty, His heirs and successors, in such sum as shall be then required by the majority of the said Magistrates, not being less than nor exceeding , with two sufficient securities in the sum of each, which recognizance, with the condition thereof, shall be in the form prescribed in the schedule of this Act marked B., and such recognizance shall be acknowledged in the presence of, and signed by, at least two of the said Magistrates, and shall be delivered to the Clerk of the Peace, or person acting as such, to be by him duly entered or filed amongst the records of the Sessions of the Peace; and that such licence shall have no effect unless and until the person to whom it is granted shall enter into such recognizance. And be it further enacted, that any person selling game by virtue of any such licence, who shall be convicted upon any information before two Justices of the Peace of having purchased game, or taken game in exchange for goods, or received game from any person who shall not have taken out, or appear, by the latest list of certificates published by the Commissioners for the affairs of taxes, to have taken out a certificate for a gamekeeper for his or her use shall be disqualified from ever again selling game, or holding a licence to sell game, and any such licence which may have been, or shall be after that time granted to him or her, shall be null and void; and the said Commissioners are hereby required to publish in the yearly list of certificates which they are directed to advertise, the name of the person for whose use any gamekeeper is appointed; and be it further enacted, that it shall be lawful for every Lord or Lady of a Manor, having appointed a gamekeeper for his or her own use, and for every person for whose use any gamekeeper has been appointed, having taken out a certificate for such gamekeeper to sell game, through the means of his or her said gamekeeper, or his or her servant, or agent, acting in that respect for the said gamekeeper, to any person having such licence to sell game; provided always that no person shall be authorized to sell

game by reason of any Manor which shall not extend or be reputed to extend over at least · acres of land, unless and until the said person shall have entered into a recognizance to the King's Majesty, his heirs, and successors in the sum of , the condition whereof shall be in the form prescribed in the Schedule to this Act marked C. not to purchase or take in exchange for goods, or sell or give in exchange for goods any game to any person not having such licence to sell game, which recognizance shall have been acknowledged before, and witnessed by two Justices of the Peace, and delivered to the Clerk of the Peace of the county, riding, city, town, borough, or place wherein such Manor, or the larger part thereof is situated, or person acting as such, to be by him entered and filed amongst the records of the Quarter Sessions of the Peace; and be it further enacted, that every person selling game by virtue of any such licence, shall make and keep, or cause to be made and kept, in a certain book or books, correct entries of the particulars of all game bought or sold by him or her in the form set forth in the Schedule to this Act marked D; and upon sufficient proof being made upon any information before any two Justices of the Peace of any omission or inaccuracy in the same, shall forfeit the sum of for every such offence to the informer, save and except to any person being his or her servant or book-keeper through whose means the said omission or incorrect entry shall have been made; and, if convicted of any wilful omission or false entry in such book or books, with a fraudulent intent, shall be incapable of ever holding a licence to sell game, and his or her said licence, and any licence after that time granted unto him or her, shall be null and void; and be it further enacted, that every person authorized by this Act to sell game unto any person having any such licence, shall make and keep, or cause to be made and kept in a certain book or books, correct entries of the particulars of all game sold by him or her, in the form prescribed in the Schedule to this Act marked E, and upon sufficient proof being made before any two Justices of the Peace, upon any information of any omission or inaccuracy in any such entry, shall forfeit to the informer, not being his or her servant, or book-keeper, through whose means the said omission or incorrect entry was made, the whole amount of the price or value of any game sold by or for him or her; on the day in respect to which such omission or incorrect entry shall have been made, and the further sum of , and on conviction on any information before two Justices of the Peace, of any wilful omission or false entry in such book or books with a fraudulent intent, shall be thenceforth incapable of selling game under the authority of this

Act; and that every person so authorized to sell game to any person having any such licence, who shall be convicted upon any information before any two Justices of the Peace of purchasing game, or receiving game in exchange for goods from any person or persons not having such licence, with the intention of selling the same again, within twelve months after the sale of any game by him or her, or for him or her, with his or her knowledge and consent, or of selling game to or receiving goods in exchange for game, from any person or persons not having any such licence either by himself or herself, or through his or her gamekeeper, servant, or agent, with his or her knowledge or connivance, shall forfeit the sum of £300. to the informer, and shall thenceforth be incapable of selling game under the authority of this Act, for any Manor whatsoever: and be it further enacted, that any person convicted upon any information before any two Justices of the Peace of purchasing game or receiving game in exchange for goods, from any person not licensed or authorized to sell the same to him or her by virtue of this Act, unless he shall prove to the satisfaction of the said Justices that he had sufficient reason to believe the said person was duly licensed to sell game; and any person being a gamekeeper, servant, or agent, employed to sell game under this Act, on behalf of any Lord or Lady of a Manor, or person for whose use a deputation has been granted, who shall be convicted upon any information before two Justices of the Peace of selling game to, or taking goods in exchange for game from, or purchasing game from, or giving game in exchange for goods to, any person not duly licensed to sell game, unless it shall appear that he had sufficient reason to believe that such person was duly licensed; or of disposing of any game fraudulently or secretly, for a price which, or the whole of which, shall not be paid or placed to the credit of his or her employer, shall forfeit for every such offence the sum of £40. to the informer; and that it shall be lawful for any person making oath before any two Justices of the Peace, that he suspects the entries directed by this Act to be made in any book of being omitted or incorrectly made, to inspect the same under warrant of the said Justices, at any time between the hours of and paying per hour for the trouble given; and that if the person directed to keep the said book shall refuse to permit the person having such warrant to inspect the same, it shall be lawful for any two Justices of the Peace to summon the person so refusing, and on proof of such intentional refusal, to convict the offender and levy the penalties imposed by this Act, for any omission in such entries, as if it had been proved that no entry had been made; and that

all and several the penalties imposed by this Act shall be levied by distress and sale of goods on the offender; and that in default of sufficient distress, the offender shall be committed for months to the House of Correction: and be it further enacted, that a copy of every such licence shall be filed by the Clerk of the Peace amongst the records of the Quarter Sessions, and that a certificate attested by him shall and may be given at or after every Quarter Sessions of the Peace, by the said Clerk of the Peace, or person acting as such, that the said licence, if not revoked, hath not been revoked; for every which certificate not more than shall be paid; and which certificate the person holding the said licence shall cause to be fixed and kept in a conspicuous place in his shop or office, and that the forgery of any such licence or certificate, and the issuing any such licence or certificate without sufficient authority, shall be a misdemeanor; and that on any information before two Justices of the Peace, concerning any offence under this Act, it shall be lawful for the said Justices to demand the production of any way-bill or book, or other document required by this Act to be made or kept by the person so required to make or keep the same, and on default of its production, to admit evidence of its contents; and be it further enacted, that no occupier of land, having delivered to the Clerk of the Commissioners for the Affairs of Taxes, a written permission from the owner of the said land to kill game thereon, and having taken out a certificate to kill game, whereon shall be indorsed by the said Clerk the following words, viz. 'To kill game on the land he occupies, belonging to in the parish of in the county of with consent of the owner;' and no owner of land, having taken out a certificate to kill game, whereon shall be indorsed by the said Clerk the following words, viz. 'To kill game on his own land, occupied by , in the parish of , in the county of ,' with the blanks duly filled, shall be liable to any penalty for killing, or using any dog or dogs, instrument or instruments, to kill game thereon, at lawful hours and seasons, by reason of insufficiency of qualification; and that no person whatsoever having taken out a game certificate shall be liable to any penalty by reason of insufficiency of qualification for killing, or using an instrument to kill game at lawful hours and seasons upon any land with the consent of the owner and occupier, which consent shall have been previously notified by them in writing to the gamekeeper of the manor in which the said land is situated, or to the person for whose use a gamekeeper on the same has been appointed, or to the said Clerk of the Com-

missioners for the Affairs of Taxes if no such gamekeeper has been appointed, or with the permission of the Lord or Lady of the said Manor, or of the person for whose use a gamekeeper of the same has been appointed by the Lord or Lady of the said Manor, unless the refusal of the consent of the occupier to such permission shall have been previously notified in writing by the said occupier to the said gamekeeper, or Lord or Lady of the Manor having appointed the said gamekeeper for his or her own use, or to the person for whose use the said gamekeeper has been appointed, which notice may be given, either generally with respect to all persons claiming such permission, or specially with respect to any individual, and that the forgery of any such endorsement, consent, or refusal of consent, and the making any such endorsement, without due authority, shall be a misdemeanour; provided always that no permission given by this Act shall be construed so as to affect the property or rights of any owner, grantee, or lessee of a free warren.

SCHEDULE A.—*Form of License.*

A. B. householder, residing in the of in the of is hereby licensed to buy game of or from any person for whose use a gamekeeper of any manor is or shall be appointed, a proper certificate for the said gamekeeper having been taken out, or shall appear by the list of certificates advertised by the Commissioners for the Affairs of Taxes to be appointed, and to sell or retail game so purchased. (Signed)

SCHEDULE B.—*Licensed Dealer's Recognizance.*

To wit.—At a General Quarter Sessions of the Justices of the Peace [or Magistrates] acting [as the case may be] on the day of one thousand eight hundred and . A. B. of [insert the name, residence, and description of the person to whom the license is granted], acknowledges [ ] self to be indebted to our Sovereign Lord the King in the sum of pounds, and of , and of respectively acknowledge themselves to be indebted to our Sovereign Lord the King in the sum of pounds each, to be levied upon their several goods and chattels, lands and tenements, by way of recognizance to His Majesty his heirs, and successors: Upon condition that from and during the continuance of a License to buy and sell game, under certain restrictions, granted to the said A. B. the said A. B. do not buy, or procure, or receive, any hare, pheasant, partridge, black game, moor or heath game, or grouse, of and from any person other than a person for whose use a

gamekeeper of some manor is or shall be appointed, a proper certificate for the said gamekeeper having been taken out, as shall appear by the list of certificates advertised by the Commissioners for the Affairs of Taxes to be appointed, then this recognizance to be void, or else to remain in full force.

SCHEDULE C.—*Condition of a Recognizance on account of a Manor of small extent.*

Upon condition that from this day of in the year so long as the said A. B. shall continue to take out, or cause to be taken out, a certificate for a gamekeeper of the manor of in the of the said A. B. do not buy or receive in exchange for goods, or sell, or give in exchange for goods, any hare, pheasant, partridge, black-game, moor or heath-game, or grouse, from or to any person or persons not having lawful license to sell the same, then this recognizance to be void, or else to remain in full force.

SCHEDULE D.—*Licensed Retailer's Book or Books.*

| Date. | Manor. | Gamekeeper. | For whose use. | Hare. | Pheasant. |
| Partridge. | Grouse. | Black Game. | Ptarmigan. | Price |

| Date. | To whom sold. | Residence. | Hare. | Pheasant. | Partridge. |
| Grouse. | Black game. | Ptarmigan. | Price. |

SCHEDULE E.—*Manorial Book.*

Date.	Manor.	Gamekeeper.	For whose use.	Hare.	Pheasant.
Partridge.	Grouse.	Black game.	Ptarmigan.	Licensed Dealer.
Licensed Dealer's Residence.	Price.

The Petitioner further prays the House, not to deem it presumptuous that he has addressed to the House the suggestions contained in this Petition on a subject which has heretofore much occupied his thoughts, and in which he is in a small degree interested as a landholder and preserver of game, but much more widely as a Christian Minister, looking to the vice which is fostered by the present system.

P. S. 1841.—The bill, against which I petitioned, passed into law unaltered; all my forebodings have been unhappily verified, and crime and murder have been its abundant consequences. In the hope, that the legislature may yet retrace its steps and remove its demoralizing enactments by recourse to sounder principles, the petition is now reprinted —W. H.

LETTER TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL

ON THE TITHE QUESTION.

1834.

My Lord,—I believe that both the Government and the Parliament are desirous of effecting a just arrangement between the tithe-holders and tithe-payers; but it appears to me that neither the subject of complaint, nor the principles on which it ought to be removed, nor the difficulties that intervene, have been sufficiently considered or rightly understood. I shall attempt to set them forth briefly and distinctly, thinking that upon a subject of such importance the sentiments of any person, who has long and dispassionately considered it, will not be unacceptable.

It cannot be controverted, that where one party complains of a grievance, it can have no claim to have a greater advantage conferred on it, to the detriment of the other party, than the removal of that grievance. What is the grievance arising from tithes to the owner of land? Not the existence of such a charge, for that is of such extreme antiquity that not a single family in the kingdom can show that they possessed land before its existence. The land has been universally purchased subject to that charge, and the price given for it has been so much less than would have been given for it otherwise. The purchaser of impropriated tithes has as sound a title as the purchaser of the land: the clergy have an indefeasible life interest, the more to be respected, because they are debarred from other professions, it is proof of what they now enjoy. The fee simple of

the Church tithes I admit to be in the State, subject to the life interest of the incumbent; except in cases of private advowsons, where there is a concurrent title to the fee, which the State could not resume without indemnifying the patron for his interest. To remove, therefore, or diminish, by a compulsory act, the charge upon land, would be to make a present to the landowner at the expense of the titheowner. Yet the landowner has no just cause of complaint against its existence; and the occupier, where land is let, must know (if he is not deficient in intellect), that, if the charge were removed, his rent would be increased to an equal amount. The just complaint is solely this, that if the occupier should be disposed to make an unusual outlay of capital in very deep drainage, or rearing a more expensive breed of live stock, or purchasing adscititious manures, he is taxed upon the produce of that extra expenditure; that such a disposition to expensive agriculture did not exist in earlier times, and the charge operates against improvements which would be beneficial to the country. It is the duty of the Legislature to seek how to remove that evil with as little injury as possible to the titheowner, whether he be a lay-impropriator, or a member of the clergy. It is, however, to be observed, firstly, that no retrospective deduction can be made on account of improvements; secondly, that if the tithe-payer is to be relieved from the tithe of the produce of an extra application of capital, on the other hand the tithe-holder ought to be defended from the defalcation consequent on unhusbandlike neglect and impoverishment of the land; and that the payment of tithe must be limited, if by compulsory arrangement, to the tenth of that which the land would produce, if

properly treated in a plain husbandlike manner; that is, cleaning the land, ditches, and furrows, and laying the produce of the hay, straw, and green crops on the land. It is evident that if the occupier be allowed to apply extraordinary means, without paying for increase of produce, he ought not to be allowed to pay less than the average, if he diminish the produce by waste and neglect.

This being the only just ground of complaint, and just basis for its removal, let us see what difficulties stand in the way of an arrangement.

Any skilful surveyor can say what ought to be the produce of any given soil (quality and situation considered), if farmed in due course, applying the hay, straw, and green crops, and keeping the land and water-courses clean, without having recourse to extraordinary expenses; and it is clear that, if the tithe be fixed permanently to that amount, the owners and occupiers of land can have no just cause of complaint; and that to give them more advantageous terms would be to enrich them by taking from others who have as just a title to their respective properties; and although parties, if left to arrangements amongst themselves, may make concessions, the Legislature cannot, without injustice, compel an arrangement on any other basis. If the adjustment of the bargain be left to voluntary agreement, the same causes that have operated to reduce the annual payments in particular situations, will operate to reduce the final composition there also; but if a compulsory arrangement in unjust terms be held out, the party who would derive the unjust advantage will, of course, not accept of any other.

All that is necessary for effecting this is to enable the lay impropriator and the incumbent (with the consent of the patron and ordinary, to prevent fraud) to make a voluntary permanent arrangement with the landowner, fixing the annual value to be paid; and, where they cannot agree, to allow them to employ a sworn valuator, upon the principle above stated, the expense of the valuation being thrown upon the party demanding it, or rather on the State, as the improvement of the land (which is sought) is of national importance. But that arrangement and valuation must make a distinction for the future as well as the present between land when ploughed and when in grass—viz. that the tithe shall be so much when it is ploughed, and so much when laid down in permanent grass; and it must specify each field, or at least tract of land of like quality separately, or great cause of complaint will arise hereafter if the land should be sold off and partitioned under an equal charge, though of unequal quality. That valuation being agreed upon between the parties, or determined by an impartial and sworn arbitrator, and the amount made a permanent rent-charge on the land, the owner and occupier will be relieved from all the real grievance of tithes. Any further complaint would be only an unjust clamour and a desire of appropriating another man's possessions. It would be just, however, where land is now deteriorated by neglect and waste to allow a deduction for three or four years, while it is recovering, before it pays the average charge on land of such quality.

Let us now consider the injustice of, and the obstacles to, any other mode of proceeding.

In some parts of the kingdom the clergy have been in

the habit of taking less than the value; in others, of receiving a fair remuneration: and it will be found that where they have received least, the tithe is most unpopular, because its unpopularity has been the cause of their taking less: and that, where they are fairly paid, there is little, if any, complaint. For instance, in a part of the kingdom where the agricultural population are better satisfied than in any part of England, the tithes are generally let upon their calculated value. If a plan be adopted of forcing those, who live in a part of the kingdom where the full value or thereabouts has been usually paid, to take less, the most cruel subversion of all the comforts of those persons must ensue, by stripping them of a portion of the income on which they had calculated for life; and a gift will be made of that which is taken from them to persons who have not been complaining, and have no reason to expect such a boon. On the other hand, the compulsory increase of the income of the clergy, wherever they may have been in the habit of taking very little, will occasion greater dissatisfaction to the grumblers, who will think they could have made a better voluntary arrangement. Here, therefore, would be a grievous curtailment of the income of many persons to the total subversion of their domestic habits, without giving general satisfaction or any evident advantage to the nation. What justice is there in ruling that, because at one extremity of the kingdom local circumstances may have induced the tithe-owners to take less than their due, those who live at the other extremity, where such circumstances have not been in operation, shall be stripped of the income they have enjoyed without interruption or complaint? Such a proceeding strikes at the

security of all property. It might with equal justice be decreed that because in one part of the kingdom landlords may have been contented with such a rate of rent, they shall not in another take a higher; that because land sells here for 24 years' purchase, it shall not sell there for 33. And what is the fact? Does the land where low tithes are taken sell for more years' purchase? Decidedly not; in such counties it sells for 24, and in Yorkshire, where the demand of full tithe is usually expected, it sells for 33, and even 36 years' purchase.

If you lay the charge equally on a whole parish, or even a farm, which may contain many variations of soil, great cause of future complaint would arise on the dismemberment of the farms, and the charge must be unjust at first as regards a parish.

If you do not distinguish between the future charge on grass and arable land, great injustice will be done; because those whose land happens to be in grass will be charged little, and may immediately plough it up; those who have now arable land will be charged much, and will not be relieved if they find it necessary to lay it down hereafter; and hence considerable injury would arise to the holder of soil which is from its nature expensive to till.

Large tracts of lands are under a modus for hay, and titheable when ploughed; other large tracts, which belonged to the privileged monasteries, are free when occupied by the owner, and titheable when let. By no arrangement can the tithe of these lands be settled, but by their paying when ploughed, or when let, as above proposed; and it is utterly impossible that the fee simple of the right of tithe on such lands should be

valued, so as to sell it, and discharge them entirely; though the sum which they shall pay annually, whenever chargeable, may be easily fixed.

If an average of any number of late years be taken as the test of the value of the tithe, a bonus is given to the man whose land has been neglected and impoverished, and a heavier charge imposed on that which has been fertilized and well managed, doing injustice to the landowner, which would be obviated by valuing the charge at the tenth of the average produce of the soil, when duly treated, without extraordinary expense, allowing a deduction during a few years, for the recovery of any land now impoverished.

Any attempt to regulate tithe by rent must be unjust 1st, because tithe bears no relation to rent; the produce and tithe of two fields being often the same, though the rent of one is high on account of the labour of tilling it being small, and of the other low, on account of the labour being great. 2dly, because rent in some degree depends on the disposition of the landlord. A man seeking popularity for electioneering views, may find it for his interest to lower his rents, but he has no right to drag down his neighbour's tithe also to promote his views.

No redemption of the rent-charge by the landholder can be effected with justice; nor is it desirable. With respect to waste land, and land free in the occupation of the owner, it is impracticable; with no land can it be effected without an evident advantage to the present [illegible] gross land, to the disadvantage of him who [illegible] If the clergy it would be very hard: [illegible] paid in the funds they will [illegible] land which would be

worse for them than the funds, they will be burthened with the cares of a property which they may be unable to let, and not have capital to cultivate; which may have been impoverished by the previous incumbent; and which is burdened with repairs. If at all to be redeemed, there is but one fair mode of proceeding; that the purchaser should pay that amount of three per cent. consols which will on the day of the purchase yield the same income as the rent charge—the money to remain in the funds, till the incumbent, patron, and ordinary, agree on some more eligible investment. The rent-charge, or present right of tithe, is worth more years' purchase than land, because it is not burthened with repairs of buildings, and the rate at which land sells in its immediate vicinity could not be a fair price; but when land notoriously sells in one part of the kingdom at 24 years purchase, and in another at 33 and 34, how can it be just that it should be redeemed at a fixed number of years' purchase throughout the kingdom? Take the case of a person having a tithe income of 400*l.* a year in a quarter of the kingdom where about the full value is usually paid; if reduced to 75 per cent· there remains to him but 300*l.* a year. If that is redeemed at 25 years' purchase he will receive 7,500*l.* What is to be done with it? If placed in the three per cents, at 91, it will yield him 213*l.* a year, in the place of his 400*l.* If laid out in land at the market price in Yorkshire, which is 33 years' purchase, it will yield 227*l.* a year, with a deduction of 10*l.* per cent., at least, for repair of buildings, and, in truth, not much more than 200*l.*; and, farther, if the clergy be compelled to invest the money in land, the market will rise against such

large investments. At all events the income of such a person will be cut down to about one-half what it is at present, whether he be a clergyman or a lay impropriator. Take the further case of such a man having also an estate in a clay country, where, from the low price of corn and the greater expense of tillage, he is preparing to lay down a great part of it in grass; he will be forced to pay hereafter an undue burthen on account of the land having been lately ploughed. Suppose him to have other farms, where the land is more favourable, and good tenants, who have bought rape-dust and malt-dust to lay on abundantly; he will be charged there in perpetuity on account of the good crops lately raised by his tenants; and on all sides his income will be curtailed, both as a landowner and a titheowner.

Take the opposite case of a man having 400*l.* a year tithe property, in a quarter where only half the real value is obtained, and land sells for 24 years' purchase. His tithe is to be raised 25 per cent. and becomes 500*l.* a year; redeemed at 25 years' purchase, and laid out in land in his vicinity at 24 years' purchase, he remains with a rental of above 500*l.* a year, subject to deductions for repairs. Suppose the same man to have an estate of grass land greatly impoverished by bad tenants and neglect, he will redeem the tithe thereof for a small fraction of what its value would have been if ploughed and properly treated, and may immediately plough it up and apply manure to it; and the income of such a person will be increased in the opposite scale, though there was nothing in the circumstances of his case that entitled him to any advantage at the expense of others.

Is it desirable to disturb the existing state of things to bring about a result so unjust? and is it not preferable to adopt the plan above proposed, by which no flagrant injustice will be done, and yet the only real cause of complaint will be effectually removed—namely, the check on improvement and extraordinary application of capital?

There remains to consider, if the value be fixed as above proposed, how it should be paid. If you were certain of starting from the medium point, and that the market would fluctuate about equally up and down, a corn rent would be just; but the price of wheat is proved by experience to be a false criterion of the value of tithe, because in the last three years the price has been low, in consequence of the abundance of the crops; and the real value of the whole crop, and, consequently of the tithe, has not been materially less on account of the low price. On the other hand, a great rise in the price, in consequence of a bad crop, would make a corn rent too high; and unless there be an equal fluctuation, one party or the other, would suffer accordingly. It would, therefore, be probably best for both parties to fix half the value in money and half in kind; but no one kind of grain is a safe criterion. Wheat may be low; oats, barley, beans, and beef high: therefore the more articles are priced the fairer the payment will be. For instance, to represent a payment of 9*s.* 4*d.* say (it matters not whether the prices here supposed are correct or not);—Cash, 4*s.* 8*d.* One-eighth of a week's agistment of a full sized beast, at 4*s.*—6*d.* One pound of beef 5*d.* A quarter of a pound of wool 6*d.* A quarter of a stone of hay 6*d.* One-eighth of a bushel of wheat at 5*s.*—7½*d.*

One-eighth bush. barley at 4*s.*—6*d.* One-eighth beans at 4*s.*—6*d.* One quarter bush. oats at 2*s.* 6*d.*—7½*d.* One quarter a labourer's daily wages at 2*s.*—6*d.*—Total 9*s.* 4*d.* Or such of the above items as it may be found convenient to include. The quantity of each article, which the tithe of an acre or tract of land shall represent having been permanently settled, it will be only necessary to set every seven or fourteen years the value of the articles, taking the grain at the average price of the county return for the last period of seven or fourteen years, and the price of the prime samples of the other articles, if included, which will be more easily ascertained than the average, may be set by a sworn arbitrator in each parish, to the best of his judgment, and he might be named by the tithe payers and Rector, if they can agree; and if they cannot, by the Secretary of State.

One remaining difficulty would arise out of small tithes and vicarial tithes. Where there is a Vicar, the small tithes of all persons having land should be included in the consideration of the payment to be fixed, and the Rector would willingly abandon the small tithes of cottagers without land. Where there is a Vicar, the arrangement should equally be made in gross with the Rector and Vicar; and if they cannot agree as to the amount to be secured out of the whole to the Vicar, the sworn arbitrator must be called in to adjust a fixed payment for him.

The only other point that suggests itself is the necessity of saving existing leases. Where the titheowner has leased the tithes to the landowner for his life, or for a long term, the Legislature cannot without injustice annul such agreements, in order to compel the parties to

make a new agreement on a different basis; and, therefore, in such cases, though the permanent arrangement may be made immediately, it cannot be brought into operation before the termination of such leases, (except by the consent of both parties) with any semblance of justice.

I earnestly entreat the Government and the Legislature to weigh maturely these considerations, and not by a hasty measure to produce grievances greater than what they are desirous of removing.

A LANDOWNER AND TITHEOWNER.

P.S. The case of hops should have been separately considered; as far as this cultivation depends on great application of expense, it calls for some relief; but, if other parts of the farm are robbed to fructify the hop garden, which is usually the case, it is a diversion of the manure from its proper course, which furnishes no ground of complaint. There seems to be no mode of dealing with the cultivation of the hops but the fixing a certain additional sum per acre for all land on which they shall be grown.

LETTER

TO THE VEN. THE ARCHDEACON OF YORK,

WHITE HART, WAKEFIELD.

Spofforth, March 19, 1821.

DEAR SIR,—A severe inflammatory cold, and a summons to attend the House of Lords, as a witness, if able to travel, will render it impracticable for me to attend, to-morrow, the meeting of the Clergy of your Archdeaconry, which I am sorry to find is called for the purpose of petitioning Parliament on the subject of the Catholic claims. It is about two years since, at a similar meeting, a petition was unanimously adopted, with a view to perpetuate the exclusion of the Catholics from a participation of equal rights with their fellow-countrymen; from which determination I may collect the intention and the probable result of that which you have now convened. I should have held it my duty to have obeyed your summons on the former occasion, if I had seen or heard of the advertisement before the meeting had actually taken place; and deeply did I lament that that body, of which I am an humble member, should have come to a determination, which appeared to me not only unjust in its principle, and impolitic in its bearings, but in every respect injudicious and inexpedient, considering the quarter from which it proceeded. Still more deeply did I regret, that the grounds of that resolution should have been ushered forth to the public in the uncontradicted report of the speech by which it was seconded, in language, from which (however desirous of avoiding all

personal offence, and of addressing you on such a subject, in the most calm and dispassionate manner) I cannot sufficiently express my total and unqualified dissent, without declaring that it appeared to me not only unworthy of the pious and enlightened character of the body which seemed to have approved of it; but unfit to have found vent from the lips, or harbour in the heart of a Christian. Good heavens! Sir, in what age are we living, or in what state of mental darkness must the prejudices, with which this question has been surrounded, have enveloped the understandings of those who were discussing it, when it could have been affirmed (and I fear not without some approbation) by a member of our established priesthood, that sooner should there be communion between our blessed Redeemer and the abominations of Belial, than between the Protestant Englishman and his Catholic fellow-countrymen! If the clergy are to debate (which however I deprecate, desirous of leaving it to the wisdom of Parliament) upon the policy of admitting the Catholics to the full and free enjoyment of civil rights, let the discussion at least be conducted with temper, with decency, with christian charity, with some consideration for the character of those who are discussing it, as well as of those who are the objects of their hostility. I have seen the Catholics in the humbler sphere of life, amongst my own parishioners; I have dwelt with them in the friendly society of my equals; and I have no hesitation in declaring, that they appear to be as pious, as loyal, as charitable and benevolent, as sincerely endowed with christian virtues, as the most orthodox of my own congregation; and although I look with compassion upon the prejudices of their education, and the futile ceremonies

which they have been taught from infancy to prefer to the simple, touching, and sublime prayers of our liturgy, I do not look with more compassion upon those prejudices, than upon that strange and uncharitable perversion of intellect, which could have induced a member of our own church, to liken, by such a horrible comparison, a communion with such of our fellow-christians, as are assimilated to us by the same hopes, and habits, and enjoyments, by like interests, and a common country, who kneel to the same God, and place their confidence in the same Redeemer; and, when I hear the Catholics branded with the reproach of intolerance, by those who have compared a communion with them to a communion between Christ and Belial, I cannot but feel with mortification, how truly that reproach might be retorted upon those from whom it emanates.

Since I have been a member of the body which is convened by your advertisement, I have been generally disposed to withdraw myself from public political discussions; and, although I am convinced that it is just, and politic, and consistent with the best interests of the empire and the security of the established church, that the legislature should come to a final and satisfactory arrangement with the Catholics; I am not less clearly persuaded, that if the reverse were the unanimous opinion of the clergy, it would be peculiarly unbecoming their situation to array themselves in a phalanx against them. With respect to the oath of abjuration and supremacy, the question is not whether it is desirable that men should acknowledge the guidance of a foreign Pontiff in points of faith. It is our misfortune that a large body of our countrymen place that reliance on him, and hold

the communications which necessarily arise from it. The question is, whether that intercourse would be rendered more dangerous by removing the disabilities which make that portion of our countrymen an insulated and discontented body; or whether by taking away the great causes of their dissatisfaction, and at the same time subjecting their foreign communications to prudential regulations, we may not acquire additional security against foreign insidiation, and at the same time, strengthen the sinews of our country, by removing the disabilities which have made us a disunited people.

Is it, therefore, consonant with the just sentiments of an enlightened clergy, is it agreeable to the spirit which ought to pervade the conduct and opinions of christian ministers, to stand forward in a body upon such an occasion, to lend their weight to the gross prejudices that have heretofore agitated the lower orders of Protestants? It is not a point of religious difference, but of state precaution. The sentiments of the clergy on this subject, are not worth an iota more than those of any other men; on the contrary, however sincere they may be in their opposition, they subject themselves, by the mode of their interference, to the imputation of seeking to uphold the integrity of their incomes, against the possibility of future demands, by feeding the prejudices of the vulgar, under the pretence of fears for the establishments of the country. To my apprehension, the interference of the clergy is not less impolitic, with a view to their particular interests, than it seems to be unbecoming with respect to their situation. The discipline of our church establishment holds the just medium between that of the Catholics,

and of those who acknowledge no episcopacy or supremacy in the Church; in the same manner as our government is intermediate between monarchy and democracy: and to me it seems that the admission of the Catholics to the enjoyment of those privileges, which, under cover of the indemnity act, the Dissenters actually enjoy, may be possibly a counterpoise advantageous to the security of our present ecclesiastical constitution.

We are told that the Catholics are fond of power, and of making proselytes. So are all men, and especially all that stand in the condition of sectaries. Every class of men excluded from the full benefits of the constitution, on account of its opinions, must naturally be desirous of extending its creed, and regaining its privileges by means of that extension. But if it be true that there is an increase of Catholic schools and convents in this country, it is a proof that the present system of exclusion does not answer the purpose for which it was intended. If the proselyting spirit is active, will its activity be lessened by continuing those restrictions, which bind the Catholics together by a point of honour and a sense of self-devotion? Instances might be adduced of Catholics attending the service of our churches; and it is notorious that the insulation in which they are held by the existing laws, and the feelings resulting from it, keep them from more frequently attending it, rather than any substantial objection to our form of worship; and is it not lamentable to see the established clergy, instead of striving to reconcile their christian brethren to their communion, arraying themselves in open and professed hostility? I may cite the authority of a late prelate, from whose mouth I heard

it asserted in parliament,* that the Catholics of this empire have a much nearer affinity to the doctrines and system of our establishment, than some of the Dissenters, who virtually enjoy the privileges from which they are excluded. I do not yield to any of the opponents of the Catholics, in sincere attachment to our ecclesiastical establishment, and my personal interests are not less intimately connected with it; but, remembering that Christ is one head, and that Christians ought to be one family, it will be a source of pleasure to me, in my humble situation, whenever an opportunity shall occur, of allaying, rather than exciting, the differences of sects.

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* At the time when these sentences were written, (solely with reference to the safety of admitting the Romanists to a participation in civil rights, and without the intention of intimating any opinion of my own upon doctrinal points) there existed no reason for caution, lest I should be supposed to lean towards a party in the church, which did not then exist, and which, while professing hostility to the tenets of Rome, appears to favour ecclesiastical domination over the human understanding and to upheave the great keystone of the true Catholic church, namely the doctrine, "that holy scripture contains all things necessary to salvation." I wish to disclaim all bias towards any party in the church, being desirous of promoting harmony and of steering my own course with common sense, with christian humility and charitable kindness, according to the gospel of my Saviour, equally avoiding presumptuous self-sufficiency and that prostration of intellect which relies too much upon traditional doctrine and human authority. With respect to the expected political consequences of emancipating the Romanists, we have to lament that the concession was wrung from the fears of an administration theoretically hostile to the measure, instead of proceeding from the justice of a government which approved of it, and that circumstance has necessarily produced an evil effect on the feelings and future views of those, who have been taught to rely upon strength, rather than upon reason, in their further expectations.

Melancholy is it to consider, that in every age of Christianity, that excellent religion, which ought to be the bond of union amongst the prosperous, and of comfort to the afflicted, has, through the self-sufficiency and perverseness of mankind, become the source of sanguinary resentment and persecution. The absurdities and contradictory decrees of old councils were cited at your last meeting, as the test of the doctrines held by the Catholics at this time: and though it is admitted, that neither the English nor the Irish Catholics acknowledge the infallibility of the Pope, that the decrees alluded to have been repeatedly resisted, and that the Catholics of this day, have no more disposition than the Protestants, to admit the interference of the Pontiff in temporal affairs; yet we are told that we can only look to the unrepealed language of ancient councils, and must form our opinion of the present tenets of the Catholics from such documents. The very circumstance, however, of the contradictory nature of those decrees, is a sufficient proof, that their general infallibility cannot really be established in the minds of reasonable and thinking beings. The fact is, that it is much easier to suffer the absurdities of ancient times to sink into gradual discredit and disuse, as the prejudices of the period to which they belonged have been dispelled by the progress of education, than by a public and solemn discussion to repeal them, and draw the exact line of that which it would be advisable to substitute in their stead: and it is as unjust to imagine that the sentiments of the British and Irish Catholics, at this day, can be collected from the declarations of the Lateran Council of 1215, as it would be to extract the spirit of the English church from the Athanasian creed,

or to conceive that the temper of the British Government, at this day, could be collected from the perusal of absurd obsolete laws which disgrace our statute book. Notwithstanding all that may be extant in the records of former ages, and which may occasionally be brought forward by the bigotry of the infatuated, or the baneful designs of the insincere, it ought to be sufficient for us to know, that the mass of Catholics in these realms does not acknowledge any temporal authority of the Pope, and that the Pope himself does not pretend to require it. It may be very advisable for the security of our civil government, that the communications between the Catholics of these realms, and a foreign Pontiff, should be carried on under such regulations and restrictions as would sufficiently guarantee our internal tranquillity; and it is the advantage of our present situation, that, having much to grant to the Catholics, we have the means of obtaining the willing consent of the most reasonable amongst them, to such precautionary regulations as would remove any danger from papal interference to the security of the state.

With respect to Transubstantiation, and the ceremony of the Mass, which are the other points on which Catholic exclusion has been founded, nothing can be more unjust and absurd than to exclude Christians from civil situations, on account of peculiar opinions with respect to the mysteries of their religion, which lead to no practical result. It is difficult to understand, and I believe few of our English Catholics could very satisfactorily explain, what is their exact belief on this subject; but I imagine, if sifted to the bottom, it would be found to differ very little from that which is expressed

in our own Catechism; and I have little doubt, that the present opinion of the English Catholics on that point, would have been substantially similar to our own, if it had not become a point of honour to adhere to the interpretation of their forefathers, by the persecution and disabilities which attached to it. Prejudices are gradually worn away by the progress of education; but, they become fixed like the shell-fish to the rock, if you attempt to extirpate them by violence. But, if the claims of the Catholics were not as just as I have represented them, there is one final consideration which should induce the clergy to abstain from presenting a petition against them; I mean the utter inadequacy and impotency of their remonstrance. The march of reason, the illumination of the public mind, on this subject, has been gradual, but increasing in rapidity as it advanced; and he must have little knowledge of human nature, and have been little accustomed to calculate the probability of events, who does not see that they are tending, with irresistible force, to the Emancipation of the Catholics. Is it politic in the English clergy to continue to the last a bitter opposition to a measure, which is evidently forcing itself by its own merits, into the gradual and full possession of the public approbation? When the majority of the House of Commons, uninfluenced by ministers, have brought forward the measure, does it require the gift of prophecy to foresee, that whenever the administration shall decidedly lean to it, it must be carried triumphantly; and in the present state of the public opinion, when it is almost notorious, that our Sovereign is not adverse to it, and is about to reap in our sister kingdom, the popularity due to his conciliatory conduct; is it not evident that (if not

passed into law this session, if thwarted by the bigotry of a few infatuated Catholics, or the expiring scruples of the legislature), the day of its accomplishment cannot be far removed?

Let the clergy of this Archdeaconry consider calmly whence it happens that their sentiments remain unaltered, while the opinion of the laity has been gradually changed by the influence of repeated debates, from the most violent antipathy, to a dispassionate satisfaction concerning this measure. In every age of the world, free and open deliberation has led to the eliciting truth, and not to the establishment of error. The progress of reason is the necessary consequence of public and repeated discussions; and when the clergy begin to find themselves insulated in their opinions, ought they not to suspect that their own judgment is influenced by that party spirit, which is too apt to obscure the intellect of men who are rivetted together by some particular bonds of fellowship? If I were able to attend, I should move the previous question, in hopes that the meeting might be induced to separate without coming to any resolution, and to leave the question to the wisdom of Parliament. I beseech them to turn their thoughts to a conciliatory view of the subject; and, remembering that they are the messengers of peace, the appointed teachers of brotherly love, to lend their aid to the allaying of ancient and bitter prejudices, and bringing the differences which so long have separated our fellow-subjects, to a state of happy and permanent reconciliation.

I am, dear Sir, with great regard,
Yours faithfully,

WILLIAM HERBERT.

LETTER

TO THE VEN. THE ARCHDEACON OF YORK.

April 16th, 1821.

DEAR SIR,—A very long letter in the Sheffield Mercury, by the gentleman who seconded the resolutions adopted in 1819, has been sent to me, probably by his directions, as an answer to that which I wrote to you when I found myself unable to attend the meeting which you had convened. I am not used to enter into controversies, and I should have taken no notice of the letter, if it had not charged me with the most gross and unwarrantable misrepresentation of his sentiments in that which I addressed to you, although it admits that there has been no intentional mistatement. On reference, however, to his own words, as quoted in his letter, and to the observations which I made upon them, you will find that I neither misunderstood nor misrepresented them. I did not accuse him of personal hostility to any of the Catholics, nor of anything so insignificant as objecting to personal intercourse with them. I understood what was said at the meeting to have reference, as he truly explains it, to the communion of the two churches, and the substance of the assertion to be, that it would be more fitting and natural for the blessed Author of our salvation, and the Evil being who has no part or hope in it, to concur, than for English Catholics and the Protestants of our Church to unite in the worship of their God, and thanksgiving to their Redeemer. Personal intercourse may often be avoided upon prudential

and sometimes upon unimportant considerations, but the sentiment thus avowed strikes at the root of all christian fellowship, dissolves the tie which binds us to our countrymen, and places our connexion with them upon the same footing as with the idolator of the deserts of Africa.

With the same disposition to exaggerate, which has led him to a recurrence to ancient documents, or to the effusions of a few bigoted individuals, the strongest expressions have been dragged out of our Articles and Homilies, and the public are told, with a view to its effect upon those who do not deeply consider the subject, that in subscribing to their contents, I have positively sworn that all Catholics have committed "the dreadful crime of blasphemy." It is very truly stated in our Articles with respect to transubstantiation that to suppose *the priest offers up Christ for the quick and the dead*, is "a blasphemous fable and dangerous deceit;" because all sayings that derogate from the dignity of the Almighty are in their nature blasphemous; but *the commission* of the *crime* of blasphemy implies intentional dishonour to the Deity; for an evil purpose is the essential distinction between crime and error.

It is far from my thoughts to trouble you with a review of that long letter, which, probably, few persons but myself have read to the end, but there is one point to which I shall advert very briefly. I am asked why I have suffered two years to elapse since the former petition was adopted, without objecting to the proceedings? The reason seems obvious. The meeting had been regularly convened, though the advertisement had escaped my observation; and it appeared to me ungracious, and

unlikely to lead to any public advantage, to attack the proceedings after they were concluded, having let slip the opportunity of opposing them in their progress. But when a second meeting was called for the same object, the very unanimity which had prevailed amongst those who had thought fit to attend it, left me no alternative as a member of that body but to declare my dissent from such proceedings, or appear to adopt them. It may be almost unnecessary to notice the personal suggestion that, because I stated that a political arrangement with the Catholics, might possibly strengthen the sinews of the country and prove advantageous to the security of our ecclesiastical constitution, the object of my argument was "to fix myself more firmly" in my own rectory: but, if it be a reproach to desire the confirmation of my own possessions by the admission of all my fellow-countrymen (as far as may be found politically expedient) to the enjoyment of equal rights, and to wish the security of property strengthened by the diffusion of amity and contentment, I confess that it is a reproach of which I shall be proud to bear the burthen. After perusing eight columns of the newspaper in two successive weeks filled with quotations laboriously collected, I was a little surprised at finding by the words accompanying the signature of the author, that the letter had been written "*in haste*," and, deeming it expedient to read what was personally addressed to me, I rejoiced to find that there were some limits to his leisure. I was not surprised at reading in the same production, that it professed to be written with sentiments of "*deadly hostility*," not to me, but to the principles, and the hopes of the Roman Catholics. Looking, however,

to the kindlier feelings which appear to prevail amongst the majority of my fellow-countrymen, I see no necessity for that array of "*camps*," and "*banners*," and clergymen "*girt for battle*," which he has recommended; and I trust that the time will arrive, when he will see the Roman Catholics in the quiet enjoyment of their civil rights, and will awake from the terrors which appear to haunt his imagination, as the dreamer after a disturbed night, enjoys the serenity which dawns upon his chamber. I am unconscious of hostile or invidious feelings towards any individual, and it is strange that he should have apprehended the possibility of personality from me towards a gentleman whom I have never seen, and whose name would have been still unknown to me, if I had not accidentally seen the report of his speech in a Leeds paper. To you my feelings are not those of indifference; and confident that, however you may differ from me in a political view of the measure, the illiberal sentiments to which I objected are as foreign to your mind as to my own, I take my leave of this subject with every expression towards yourself of friendship and esteem.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM HERBERT.

SERMON I

VINDICATION OF CHRISTIANITY:

Preached in Spofforth Church and Wetherby Chapel, December, 1819.

Who hath bewitched you, that you should not obey the truth, before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth, crucified among you?—GALATIANS iii. 1.

THESE words were originally addressed by the Apostle, St. Paul, to those who had actually witnessed the miracles that accompanied the death, and followed the resurrection of our Saviour; but they are not less applicable to those in every succeeding generation, who, having full access to the truths of his Gospel, have either fallen into habitual disregard of the commandments of the Almighty, or have been seduced, by the sarcasms and malevolent aspersions of blasphemers, and the impious vanity of presumptuous unbelievers, to forsake that holy religion, which is a lantern to their feet, a guide to their inexperience, a harbour and refuge from all the calamities of a precarious and variable existence. It requires no great depth of apprehension to perceive the plainness with which all those things have been revealed to man by the Scriptures, which are necessary to regulate his conduct in this world, piously with regard to his Maker, discreetly with relation to his own welfare, and virtuously with respect to the advantage of his fellow-creatures: by how clear and certain a revelation the will and promises of God have been made known to us: and at the same time how dimly are revealed to us

all those mysteries concerning the nature and essence of the Deity, which are matters rather of speculative doctrine than of practical religion, and of which the clear understanding is neither essential to promote our well-being here, nor to conduct us to the secure haven of a blessed immortality. We are called upon therefore not only by considerations of sound wisdom and discretion, but even by the simple dictates of reason, to hold fast to the knowledge of those truths which are the bread of life; which, by bringing our resurrection and immortality to light, have proved us to be creatures of a higher order, and not merely the most intelligent in the scale of animals. Looking therefore to the infinite importance of the great and indubitable truths of our religion, I should exhort you not to be over-anxious about holy mysteries, about "things" (as St. Peter, 2 Ep. iii. 16. says) "hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest unto their own destruction;" nor, because such have been purposely but half explained to our limited capacities, to withdraw your confidence from those which are plain and evident; and I am desirous of noticing the principal arguments, by which the unfaithful are striving to undermine the principles of religious and moral rectitude, to give the reins to the indulgence of every evil passion, and to shake from their very foundation our enjoyment of well-regulated society in this world, and our hopes of a happier immortality in heaven.

It is a subject so deeply interwoven with our best and real interests; so essential to our present conduct and our future prospects; so intimately connected with every consolation and comfort that we can draw to ourselves in affliction; that I am anxious to grapple with the monster

of Infidelity; and to send you forth from the sanctuary of the Almighty, as far as in me lies, fortified against the contamination of the blasphemous publications that have been circulated.

To those who have read and studied, and inwardly digested the Scriptures, I apprehend little danger; the poison is held out to the young and inexperienced; to those who, I fear, but seldom find leisure from their avocations or amusements to meet us in the house of prayer. Such persons the seducer approaches with the allurement of a permitted indulgence in every vicious excess, that is not controlled by the immediate operation of human laws; destroying all their better hopes, leading them into the mire of sensuality, dragging them down to the level of the brutes of the field, or rather as much below the brutes, as the capacity of their understanding renders them more answerable for their conduct.

There is, I believe, my friends, amongst the whole host of railers scarcely one who will openly avow that he disbelieves in the existence of a Deity. There is something so magnificent in the aspect of the universe! in the symmetry and order of all nature! in the foresight which has provided for the minutest wants of every portion of this infinite creation! in the wonderful birth and growth and texture of every vegetable and animal substance! in the millions of diminutive insects which the eye can scarcely distinguish, but which are perfect in all their parts! and in that great and unfathomable expanse of the magnificent heavens, to which this whole globe is but an atom, and in which on a clear night we discern millions of worlds which look but like so many

sparkling lights, and only give us a faint idea of the multitude of other globes that are almost imperceptible, or entirely lost in the unmeasurable distance beyond them! Where is the man, who can lift up his eyes from his daily labour to the beautiful symmetry of our own world, or from his nightly couch to that splendid and boundless universe above us, and say that there is no God; no all-powerful and all-bountiful Being, who has made and still upholds and regulates this wonderful creation. It is therefore at the religion of Christ, and not at the existence of a God, that the impious generally direct their raillery; against that excellent religion, from which (not to mention its future prospects) mankind has derived more present advantages, more temporal blessings and prosperity, than were ever produced by any human institution.

They call themselves Deists, by which name they mean that they acknowledge the existence of a Deity, though they deny all revelation. To me it appears, without entering at present into the evidences of the Christian religion, that to deny all revelation is nearly the same as to deny the Deity. The things which live upon earth, with the exception of man, are formed with no wants or desires, or causes of contention, but such as are connected with the increase and preservation of their kind. They require, therefore, no other guidance than the instinct necessary for their safety and perpetuation. But man was created with an infinity of various, capricious, conflicting, and insatiable desires. It is that perpetual aspiration after something more than he possesses, and the revelation of God's will which necessarily accompanied to controul it, that in fact constitutes what we

call Reason, and forms the distinguishing privilege of humanity. To have placed man, therefore, in the world, with such insatiable wishes, such rivalry of disposition, such ardour of fancy, such capricious and variable desires, without giving him any guide for his conduct, any law to prevent his seeking to gratify all his wishes to the most pernicious extent, would have been to launch him into a scene of conflict and confusion, that appears to me totally at variance with that benevolent regularity, by which the whole creation seems to be governed Nor is this a peculiar opinion; it seems to be a view of things natural to man; for though there have been individuals, I believe there never yet was found any nation, however savage and ignorant, that did not believe both that there was a God, and that the Deity had been revealed to man. That an all powerful and benevolent Being should have placed us here to be tossed about at random, the victims of our own caprice and passions and desires, permitting us to perceive his existence and power, but without revealing to us his will, or giving us any rule for our actions, is inconsistent not only with the Divine attributes, but even with the contracted wisdom of an human understanding: and therefore I may justly say, that to reject all revelation, is in fact to deny the existence and attributes of a God, and to take from ourselves that which gave us pre-eminence over inferior animals.

An objection has been made to our religion on account of the disagreement of Christians of different denominations, from the due consideration of which we may draw a wholesome lesson for our conduct. As an argument against Christianity, it is of no real force or importance; because the disagreement of sects, on points of Church

discipline, or the explanation of abstruse mysteries, can, in no manner, affect the evidences of a Divine mission, the rules of moral conduct, and promises of a future life, which are established by the Scriptures. But it is greatly to be regretted, that many who unnecessarily withdraw themselves from the Established Church, without any differences of absolute conscientious importance, have furnished grounds of aspersion to the enemies of religion. Greatly were it to be wished that Christians of all denominations, laying some prejudices in part aside, and abandoning the discussion of mysterious points, could agree in one common form of worship. But of this you may be certain, that where there do not exist any decisive grounds of strong conscientious difference, it is wisest and safest to conform with the mode of worship established by the constitution of your country; and that by so doing you will contribute more by your example to the piety of your fellow-countrymen, and by your worship to the honour of the Almighty, than if you make a schism and division in his Church, by withdrawing yourselves from a humble conformity with the established mode of thanksgiving, to the pride of meeting-houses and conventicles.

Let us now consider shortly the attacks that are made on the Scriptures, and the strong unalterable evidence upon which our religion is founded.

It is first objected that some parts of the book of Genesis have a fabulous appearance. It may be admitted that they contain some things which, from their singularity, must naturally excite surprise; and certain passages, such as the eating of the forbidden fruit by our first parents, and the wrestling of Jacob with a

spirit, have been supposed, by very pious persons, to have been written as parables; implying that our first parents had been tempted by the allurements of sin to disobey the commandments of God, and that Jacob had wrestled, not in body, but in spirit, with his antagonist. In the same manner there are passages in the New Testament concerning which it must be at present impossible to ascertain precisely whether they were meant in their literal sense or not; as for instance those which relate the casting out of devils, concerning which we cannot be sure, whether the deliverance from an actual fiend was intended, or merely the cure of a lunacy, or of a falling and frothy fit, such as we see in these days, which the Jews had considered to be possession by a devil. But it is quite needless for any good purpose, as it is impossible, to ascertain those points precisely: it is sufficient that in either alternative the result is the same, and easily to be understood; namely, in the first instance, that our first parents by disobedience brought sin and death and misery into the world, and that the atonement of our Saviour has given us the certain hopes of a happy immortality; in the second, that whether the sufferers were possessed by a real devil, or by an ungovernable fit and phrenzy, at the word of our Saviour the visitation miraculously left them. Those are therefore points concerning which, (as well as the exact nature of the Deity) it is quite unnecessary for us to be more particularly informed; but, we must remember, that if we believe that there is one God and Father of all, and that in the first ages of the world he revealed himself to men, there is no real ground for doubting the accounts given in Genesis, according to their most exact and literal sense;

and that if we begin to permit ourselves to explain away circumstances, merely because they are out of the common course of nature, we might as well at once deny the omnipotence and interference of God, and we open the door to unbelief, which we shall not know exactly where to close again.

With respect to the mysterious doctrines of the Trinity and the divinity of our Saviour, both God and man, which have caused division amongst Christians, though they are beyond our comprehension, there is nothing more wonderful in them, or difficult to understand, than how our own soul and body, an imperishable immortal spirit, and a corruptible mortal substance, which are so intimately connected that they cannot continue to exist in this world without each other, and yet are liable to be separated in an instant, should form one individual. It is, perhaps, even more difficult to understand how the body material and mortal, and the soul spiritual and everlasting, can combine to make one human being, than to apprehend the intimate union of three spiritual persons, of the same intangible and immortal essence. The difference is that the mysteries which concern the God-head are removed from the sphere of our observation, while daily experience forces upon us the conviction of those which regard ourselves; but the knowledge of the manner in which the soul and body are united, and the comprehension even of its possibility, is as far removed from the capacity of our understandings, as the most subtle mysteries concerning the Deity.

The next objection is, that the Scriptures contain a detail of vices which are offensive to a reader of delicacy, and could not have been expected to have been so set

forth in a book of Divine authority. Nothing can be more absurd than this objection. The Old Testament contains the commandments that were directly issued by the Almighty; the wonderful prophecies and types by which the coming of our Saviour was foretold; and the history of a rebellious people, whose vices are held out to our execration, and in no instance offered as a pattern for our imitation. And is it with any appearance of reason to be cast as a reproach by railers against the Scriptures, that the Almighty permitted them to be written in the plain-spoken manner that suited the times in which they were delivered, instead of wrapping them up in the refined language of modern fashion? Vice is more dangerous when it is glossed over, and rendered palatable by a more delicate mode of detailing it, than when it offends us at once by its open and exposed deformity.

We are told that the conduct of the Almighty, as detailed in the Old Testament, is inconsistent with natural justice, because he is said to have shed the blood of babes, to have involved the innocent and guilty in common destruction, and to have visited the sins of parents on their children. These are the grounds upon which the most disgusting blasphemies have been lavished on the Almighty, which make the pious shudder in the reading. Yet never were objections more empty and contemptible: the offspring of the most short-sighted and ridiculous presumption! Are the ways of God to be judged by the ways of mortals? Is his power limited like that of men? Before immortality had been fully revealed to us by our Saviour, the Almighty governed his people by more direct interference and the visible

display of immediate punishment. But, though he swept away thousands indiscriminately to give a tremendous example to a rebellious people, can any man presume to say, that those who were suddenly withdrawn from this world of sorrow and vicissitude, perhaps to the instant enjoyment of greater happiness, were the victims of barbarity? May he not have taken them in mercy from evils which he foresaw? May he not have repaid them thousand-fold? Is not the objection founded upon the grossest error? I mean a supposition that this transitory world is the sphere of all our happiness. If man executes deadly judgment on the unoffending, the blow which he has struck is fatally consummated, and there exists no earthly power, that can relume the perishable lamp of life, or afford any requital to the undeserving sufferer: there remains nothing in this world but unavailing regret, and the fond recollection of departed innocence. But is it so with the Almighty? Has he smitten, and can he not repay? Has he destroyed the body, and can he not crown the soul with glory? Has he withdrawn it in the hour of infancy and innocence from a precarious and perhaps a bitter lot upon earth, and can he not requite it with an incorruptible recompense in heaven? O how blind, how pitiful is the vanity of those, who measure the justice of the Almighty by the narrow scales of human judgment!

The visitation also of the sins of parents on their children had reference only to this world. Even to this day they must be content to bear in their bodily constitution, and in their worldly situation, the consequences of the debauchery or profligacy of their parents:

but God has distinctly spoken by the mouth of the prophet Ezekiel (ch. xviii): "The sons shall not bear the iniquity of the father: if he hath walked in my statutes, he shall not die for the iniquity of his father; he shall surely live." So that we have even in the prophecies of the Old Testament a full assurance of the ultimate justice ofthe judgments of the Almighty.

It is next asserted that pretenders to a Divine mission have at all times been supposed by the credulous to have performed miracles; and we are asked how we can shew that the acts of Jesus were not deceptions, like the feigned miracles which we disbelieve? To enter into all the particulars of this question might furnish ample matter for many discourses; but it is sufficient generally to observe, that the miracles of our Saviour were wrought in the midst of thousands of his enemies, of those who dragged him to trial and execution; yet that although they wreaked upon him the utmost fury of their malice, they ventured not to deny that he had actually wrought the miracles, but asserted that he effected them through the agency of the devil and not the power of God. On the other hand, the miracles of all false pretenders to holiness have been performed among their own followers and believers, with every facility that could establish fraud and promote deception. They sought to acquire temporal power and wealth, and dominion in this world. The most successful of religious impostors, who is still worshipped by the Turks, was a man of war, a man of sinful pleasures: his ambition was boundless, his lust insatiable; and the heaven he promised to his adherents was the indulgence of indiscriminate sensuality. Our blessed Saviour came amongst a people, who expected a

Messiah that should establish a splendid empire by his victories; yet he rejected all honours: he offered no enticements to their passions, he took no advantage of their prejudices, but brought his disciples down from their high dreams to the sober cultivation of truth and meekness and humility. He had no enjoyment, no ambition in this world, but to enlighten mankind, and to fulfil his mighty destinies by passing through a life of sorrow to a painful and ignominious crucifixion.

In addition however to the miracles that were performed in the life-time and followed the death of our Saviour, is there no living miracle at this moment before our eyes, to attest the divinity of his mission? For my own part, if I had no other proof on which I could securely repose my confidence, the contemplation of the state in which the Jewish people have existed for so many centuries, would alone be sufficient to confirm my faith in the religion of our Redeemer. By them was the Saviour of mankind delivered to humiliation, to torture, and to death; and they all cried before the judge, "His blood be on us and on our children." And what has been their situation through succeeding generations even to the present moment? The destruction of Jerusalem was accomplished, as it was prophesied by our Saviour. Their kingdom has perished from amongst the nations. Outcasts and wanderers through so many ages, they have never had a home or a country. No spot in the whole world has owned their dominion. Eager for gain and successful in its acquisition, but never obtaining the advantages that should belong to it, they have lived century after century without a country which they can call their own, the objects of constant scorn, of

repeated (and even at this moment on the Continent of present and almost incomprehensible) persecution. The curse has clung to them, and they remain in a situation which has no parallel in history, the living memorial of a rejected, an injured, an avenging God.

Let us proceed from this consideration to a brief view of the progress of mankind during the eighteen centuries that have elapsed since the coming of our Saviour; and what will be the result of that enquiry? The doctrines of Christ have been gradually extending themselves over the world; and wherever they have taken root, they have given a decided superiority to the nations that have embraced them. The Christian world has been visited by occasional scourges, but lasting superiority has not been acquired by the unbelievers. There have been three great irruptions of infidels perhaps little known to most of you in history; the Goths, the Huns, and the Saracens, or followers of Mahomet. The irruption of the Goths, who themselves became Christians, tended rather to the extension of the Church of Christ. The inroad of the Huns shook the whole Christian empire, but their barbarian leader was smitten in the midst of his boasting as if by the act of the Almighty, and the power which he had possessed melted away in an instant. The Mahometan force presented a more durable, though not a more formidable, cause of apprehension: But what is the present situation of the Turkish empire? Existing rather by the mutual jealousies of the Christian powers, than by its intrinsic strength; having no stability that could resist a determination of the Christians to overturn it. Is there a portion of the whole world, is there a corner of the habitable globe, in

which, with equal opportunities and preparation, a force of infidels can make head with any prospect of success against an equal array of Christians? Is not the superiority of those who profess the religion of our Saviour every where and decisively conspicuous? What are the results that must necessarily be drawn from this summary view of the history of the world? Inferences from temporary successes are of little or no value; but those which are derived from the slow and progressive march of eighteen centuries, are stamped with authority that cannot easily be controverted. One of these two inferences I think must be admitted; either that the Christians have found favour with the almighty Disposer of events; or that the religion of Christ has something in its intrinsic nature and doctrines and constitution, so congenial to the enlargement of the understanding, to the establishment of good discipline, and the general promotion of human prosperity, that by its own excellence it has worked the aggrandizement of those who embraced it. If those inferences are, as I presume, incontrovertible, what are we to say of those who attempt to undermine it, and to shake our confidence in its truth? Can we be contradicted when we assert, that they are hostile to that which has either been favoured by the Deity or has of itself benefited the human race; that they are the enemies of God, or at least the enemies of mankind? And in either view of the subject, should we not be fools and madmen to withdraw our confidence from that, which we have seen, by the evidence of 1800 years, has either conciliated the Almighty, or by its intrinsic excellence given pre-eminence to its followers? Are we not justified in denouncing those, who stand forward to traduce

the Scriptures and blaspheme against the hallowed name of our Redeemer, not merely as enemies of our religion, which they avow their desire to overthrow; but as sapping the foundations of our civil society, as undermining the pillars of our prosperity, and striving to bring down upon our heads the ruin of that great and happy fabric, which has sheltered our fathers and our forefathers through so many succeeding generations? and this for the gratification of their vain presumption, or for the baneful purpose of seeking their own advancement, by the overthrow of our religion and the destruction of our civil constitution! They come to us as the serpent came to our common mother, offering knowledge and freedom to her who was in paradise: but the gift of infidelity which they tender to us would reduce us again to the darkness and humiliation of heathens and barbarians. They come to us taking advantage of local distresses and political discontent, and holding out to the young and inexperienced a deliverance from all moral restraints, and the alluring bait of vicious and unrestrained indulgence, without consideration of that awful day when we must all be judged for the things that have been done in the flesh. Let me beseech you to fortify yourselves against the enticement of such iniquity; and to remember that a desire for political reformation is the fuel which the infidels are desirous of fanning into flame, that may involve whatever is valuable to man, and open the way for the introduction of their abominations. The unbelievers, the unprincipled, the blasphemers of their God, the enemies of the peace and welfare of the people, have attempted to fasten hold on those who feel grounds of political dissatisfaction. Let us therefore cast from us

the leaven of unbelievers, and shew by our moral conduct, and by our steady attendance on the Church of God, that we are truly and zealously disposed to uphold the religion of our Saviour.

God grant that we may enjoy the comforts, and feel in our hearts the truth and authority of the Gospel! Those who have rejected it, who have wrapped themselves in the mantle of infidelity, casting from them the promise of a better world, the proud expectation of an immortal resurrection, may flourish for a time in profligate sensuality. For a short time they may rejoice in their strength, and say, "There is no Christ:" but when the days of thoughtlessness are overpast, when sorrow and sickness shall become their lot, on what hold shall they rely, and from what source shall they draw their consolation? when the things of this world no longer yield present pleasure or cheering recollections, and nothing appears beyond but the dark night of total annihilation, or the tremendous terrors of an insulted God! It is in the hour of sickness, under the visitation of affliction, and at the last moments of his pilgrimage in this world, that the Christian feels the deep excellence of his religion; and with what feelings should he turn from those, who make it their impious trade to tear from him the sweet comfort of those melancholy hours, to shake his confidence in those hallowed promises, which are a balm to all his sorrows, a comfort amidst all his apprehensions, and a beam of glory in the last weak moments of his trembling existence! Let us cling to those holy consolations! Let us all unite with one heart in gratitude to our Redeemer, and exclaim with one voice, "Glory be to God on high, on earth peace and good will towards men!"

Let us render thanks to him with all humility; let us worship him in the true spirit of faith; with that holy confidence which arises from a due sense of his all-powerful and all-merciful perfections. Now, &c.

SERMON II.

ON THE EDUCATION OF THE POOR.

Preached at the Belfrey Church, York, on Good-Friday, 1819.

Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.—MATTHEW XXV. 40.

THESE words, and the rest of the passage in which they are introduced, were addressed by our Saviour not only to his first disciples, but to the Christians of every succeeding generation, as the strongest incentive to acts of charity and benevolence that could be held out to man as a rational creature, depending upon the Deity for his existence and every thing that he enjoys in his present state, and hoping for that happiness in a future world, which he can only obtain by conciliating the favour of the Almighty. Imperfection is the fundamental character of human nature; and there has never existed, since the commencement of the world, any human being (except that blessed man who gave himself, as upon this day to be an expiation on the cross for the sins of mortality) that could stand before the throne of God with the firm satisfaction of having in every point, according to the strictest letter of the Gospel, fulfilled his obligations to

his Maker, and his duty to his fellow-creatures. Which is there amongst us who can affirm that he has been prosperous, yet never elated; preferring the welfare of others to his own; oppressed and yet undaunted; sorrowful, but never murmuring; perfect in obedience; zealous in thankfulness and piety, but in all things humble, unostentatious, cheerful, promoting the smile of innocent enjoyment, and tender to the failings of his brethren; a stedfast and uniform pattern of holiness, fidelity, and benevolence?

If it were possible for man in his fallen state to attain that measure of perfection, it might have been looked for amongst the first apostles of our religion, whose feelings were electrified by the actual presence of their Redeemer, who were fed from the same table with God their Saviour, who witnessed the revelations of the Almighty, and were sanctified by the immediate Spirit of their Maker. Yet even amongst them we find bickerings, mistrust, contentions for pre-eminence, and a failing of confidence in the hour of trial. The great Apostle of our faith, who denied his Lord in the moment of tribulation, affords a memorable warning to all those who would presumptuously rely on their own strength and intentions.

How then, if imperfections are so inherent in our natures, that by the utmost exertion of our spiritual powers over the temptations of the flesh, we cannot hope to fulfil the dictates of our Saviour according to the letter of his Gospel, and yet without our performing the will of our Maker his redemption is not available, how is unfortunate man to ascertain, whether the measure of his negligence or transgressions, is such as to entitle him to the forgiveness, or draw down the vengeance of his Crea-

tor? How is he to acquire the comfortable assurance, that he is in the road to salvation?

There is a conscientious monitor implanted in the breast of every man; which, if he will take the pains of consulting it, will teach him, whether in all humility the general tenor of his conduct deserves his own approbation and the favourable compassion of the Almighty. But the Gospel has also plainly stated to us in many instances, and particularly in the passage I have cited, upon what terms the indulgence of the Almighty may be obtained for the frailties to which our nature is unfortunately liable; and by what line of conduct we may ensure to ourselves a claim upon his mercy. There is perhaps no other passage in the Scriptures that opens to the frail creatures of mortality a prospect so cheering, and an incentive so powerful to philanthropy and benevolence. We are not only assured that every act of kindness to the humblest of our fellow-creatures in need or in adversity, will be registered on high and remembered in our day of trial, but that our eternal Saviour, to whom all judgment is committed by Him at whose word the universe was created, and at whose word all things that it contains will return to the dust from which they sprang, will, in the last day of retribution, consider the most unfortunate and deserted of his creatures as his afflicted brethren, and hold himself bound to repay the debt of gratitude for the meanest of mankind. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

If therefore sin is so interwoven in the texture of our dispositions, that there is no individual amongst us, who will not be forced to pray for the compassionate mercy

of his Creator at the throne of judgment; can there be a more solid satisfaction than to know that we have at our command the certain means of inducing a favourable regard to our petitions; that every act of kindness to our fellows, which has proceeded from the warmth of the heart, *and not from the cold hand of ostentatious charity*, will by the benign condescension of our Maker be looked upon as a claim upon his goodness. Consider each of you with what aspect you would look upon the person, who had clothed you in nakedness, fed you in destitution, visited you in captivity, guided you in ignorance and blindness, comforted you in sickness, and cheered you in the hours of sorrow! With what feelings of delight, with what eagerness of gratitude would you spring forward, to promote (if you should find the means of so doing) the wishes of such a benefactor! And even those feelings our heavenly Saviour has promised to adopt unto all those, who have so conducted themselves towards the most insignificant of their fellow-creatures.

In addressing you therefore, my brethren, on behalf of the children of your indigent neighbours, praying for your contributions towards a fund which may procure for the body food and raiment, and for the soul instruction, I am asking that which with the grace of God will tend to conduct the giver and the objects of his beneficence to the mansions of eternal happiness. And although the instruction of the ignorant be not expressly mentioned amongst the several acts of charity enumerated in the passage from which the text is quoted, let not any one doubt that he who devotes his time, or contributes by the application of his bounty to furnish that education to his neighbour, which will amend his heart, improve his

moral education to procure his sustenance, and initiate him in the principles of his religion, is quite as acceptable in the sight of his Creator, as he that supplies only food and raiment to the body. In fact, that which gives the means of providing for our support by useful occupation is both food and raiment: that which raises us from the darkness of ignorance and teaches us to know our God and our Redeemer, is a visit in captivity and a raiment of comfort on the bed of sickness.

If any man tell you of faith as the channel to salvation unaccompanied by a benevolent desire and promptitude to instruct, to assist, and to comfort your neighbours in ignorance, in distress, and destitution, to employ yourselves usefully in the station to which you are called, and to promote innocent enjoyment in the circle of your acquaintance, instead of the morose and canting self-praise of a barren and slothful piety, beware of him as a dangerous enthusiast. If any man tell you that it is safe that the poor should be uninstructed, believe that he is an enemy to that light, by which Christianity is gradually extending itself throughout the globe. Many in our days have been enthusiastically anxious to disseminate the blessings of Christianity amongst those nations which still lie under the shadow of idolatry; but however pure their intentions, however great the praise that is due to their exertions, I fear that those only have laboured in the attempt with any very real success or prospect of permanent advantage, who have practically comprehended and steadily pursued this great and fundamental truth, that education and useful occupation are the nurses of Christianity; and that the doctrines of Christ, delivered to the uninstructed and the slothful, are

like the seed cast by the way side, and will never produce any wholesome or advantageous harvest.

Turn your eyes to the uninformed and helpless savage in the most abject state of civilization, and you will find that he possesses few advantages either of intellect or of comfort to raise him above the level of the brutes, that are tenants of the same wilderness, fed by the same all-bountiful Providence, and exposed to the same vicissitudes of nature. If any sense of religion instinctively arises in his uninstructed understanding, it is a sense of fear impressed upon him by the ills with which he is occasionally visited, by the devastation of storms, the severities of winter, or the burning suns and pestilence of autumn. It breathes no comfort to his mind; it affords no relief under the pressure of calamity; it cheers not the brow of sickness, nor softens in the hour of death the pang of separation. If he has any notion of a Deity, it is a God of terror, who speaks to him in thunder and is manifested in the tempest and the hurricane. All the sweet charities of life, the amiable train of social virtues, are alike unknown to him. He springs upon his prey like the tiger, or fattens as the monkey upon the fruits of the wilderness, sheltered by the same caves and forests, improvident of the future, equally unprepared for adversity and unthankful for the blessings with which he is surrounded.

Turn your eyes from the consideration of this humiliating scene to the lovely circle of Christian civilization! See the effects of Christianity and education go hand in hand, effecting the great object of elevating the human creature, from the level of the brutes of the desert, to be little lower than the angels! Great and stupendous as

are the blessings of the Christian revelation, without the assistance of the light, which the gradual progress of education had spread over a large portion of the globe, Christ would have died in vain; and those who now look with serenity, through the ills that have darkened their earthly pilgrimage, to the harbour of a better world, would never have heard the revelations of his Gospel, or understood the glorious promise of his redemption. The purity of his doctrines, if they had been originally delivered amongst savages, though they might have animated the stupidity of ignorance, and softened the impetuous character of barbarous ferocity, could never have been transmitted through ages to succeeding generations, uncorrupted and unaltered. The evidence of his miracles must have been lost amidst traditionary fables, and the hopes of his promise would have been clouded by superstition.

The anniversary of that solemn day, on which our Saviour devoted himself to the most lingering and disgraceful death for the expiation of human wickedness, has been chosen for an annual application to the beneficence of the public, in aid of the two excellent charitable establishments, by which the children of the indigent are here maintained and educated; and for a public thanksgiving to their Creator on the part of those fortunate children, to whom the light of the Gospel, the fundamental principles of a virtuous life, and the means of becoming useful members of the Christian community have been imparted by the benevolence of their fellow-countrymen.

It may be presumed that most of those whom I am addressing, arrived at years of discretion, have been

habituated, either upon this day which witnessed the sacrifice, or on that which beheld the glorious resurrection, of our Saviour, to participate in the comfortable sacrament which he instituted, as a perpetual testimony of our thankfulness for his redemption. Whether, according to the hallowed custom of this season, you have already attended, or are preparing to participate in that ceremony, which, as it elevates us to communion with our Saviour, brings us also into closer fellowship with our Christian brethren, I trust you do not approach it with thoughtless or hard-hearted levity; but with those humble and benevolent feelings that become a Christian, at the celebration of a solemn thanksgiving for the invaluable boon of that eternal salvation, which has been purchased for him by the sufferings, and sealed by the blood, of his Redeemer. If there is any period, at which it might be hoped that the voice of charitable suggestions would find more ready access to the hearts of all those who are not callous to every gentle or elevated emotion, it should be this season of the year, in which the sufferings and resurrection of our Saviour have given us a certain earnest of a glorious immortality; and the re-animated spring of universal nature affords a perpetual type of the resurrection which awaits us. The gloom of winter is now past; and, at the beneficent call of our Creator, all nature is about to put on the fresh appearance of renovated youth. It is the infancy of the year; and every thing that surrounds us, whether we look to the vegetables by which we are nourished, or to the animals which are reared for our benefit, admonish us of the helplessness of early life, and the inexhaustible advantages that may be expected from the fostering

cares to which the industry of man is at this season peculiarly directed. With the feelings that must flow from such considerations, with the emotion which is common to every heart when it witnesses that first blush of verdure, which may, perhaps, be nipped by the keen breath of anungenial climate, or, under more favourable circumstances, may swell into the full pride and blossom of a beautiful existence: even with such feelings, in such a tone of mind, I beseech you to look upon the innocent youth that supplicates your protection. It is their spring of life: the first down of innocence is on their cheeks; there is in their nature and dispositions every latent quality that may be drawn forth into useful, into amiable, into glorious maturity: but whether they shall flourish into the perfection of their calling, like the full-eared corn that feeds you. the garlands that give beauty and fragrance to your gardens, and the stately oak that shelters your dwellings; or whether they shall remain through life like the tares amongst your grain, the poisonous weed amongst your borders, or the stunted thorn upon some bleak and unfruitful wilderness; whether they shall ripen into usefulness, be adorned with the amiability of Christian virtues, or rise (as in this free and enlightened kingdom is possible for the meanest) to become the pride and glory of their country, depends upon the education which they shall now receive in the tender years of their existence. And for that education, for the means of unfolding the good qualities with which they are endowed, and choking their evil passions before they are rooted in the core of the disposition, we are petitioners for your bounty.

The diligent enquiries that have been made by some

of the best and wisest persons in this enlightened kingdom, into the state of our prisons, and the effects of our criminal jurisprudence, have given us a certain knowledge that an immense proportion of those who are convicted of felonious offences, are completely illiterate and uninstructed. What then is the result derived from this important information? That if those unfortunate victims of ignorance had received the same advantages of education with their more innocent fellow-countrymen, they would, in the same proportion, have been fortified against the temptations of inordinate and guilty passions. When therefore you teach the child to know his letters, to read the praises of his Creator, to rehearse his catechism, and form a just notion of the first principles of religion, when you instruct the young female in the rudiments of work and industrious occupation, you are not merely affording them means of hereafter providing with greater facility for their maintenance, but you are giving them, at the outset of their career in this life, a right direction, which will open to them the ways of righteousness, and lead them, with the grace of God, through an innocent life, to their eternal salvation. You are giving them the means of acquiring a guard against the temptations of idleness, the seductions of folly, or the more baneful contamination of guilt. You are doing that which will plead for yourselves hereafter to the throne of heaven, with an angel's tongue; you are robbing the prison of its mourners, and the scaffold of its victims. You are conveying to very individual, by his education, a treasure that will guide and admonish him in his youth, that will strengthen him in the years of vigour, and comfort the loneliness of declining age; a treasure which,

if used to its best advantage, will be inherited by his children, and descend to his posterity.

There are, perhaps, few sights more calculated to excite a gentle satisfaction in the mind of an uninterested beholder, than the parent of a cottage family, after the exercise of public devotion, and the refreshment of innocent amusement, spending a portion of his Sabbath evening in reading the Scriptures to his children. There is no occupation more likely to lead his grey hairs with honour to the grave, and to direct his little family in the paths of honest emulation and sober virtues. And to every child, that may be instructed through your means, you will convey not only the knowledge which must be serviceable to himself, but the means of hereafter rearing an honest offspring according to the precepts of the Gospel. Even in this enlightened kingdom, under the meridian splendour of the Gospel, many now lie in the darkness of heathens, even in brutish ignorance, because they are unable to read the truths of the Scriptures, and have never been brought into the association of the pious, or listened to the precepts of their religion. With all the vices of the uninstructed savage, and all the corruption that belongs to a more opulent community, they live unthankfully and unprofitably without ever elevating their thoughts to that divine protection which is "about their path, and about their bed, and spieth out all their ways." And will not their ignorance and their guilt rise against this generation and condemn it? Will not their souls be required at our hands? If having the means and the power of holding them back from the pit of everlasting perdition, we are unwilling or negligent to exert it? Are we not bound by gratitude and love

to obey the dictates of that great Teacher, who, at his last appearance on earth, required of St. Peter, as the only test of his affection, that he should feed his lambs, not with the bread of this world, but with knowledge which is the bread of life, and is able to give strength through the perilous journey of this mortal pilgrimage to a better world?

I, my brethren, am personally unknown to most of those whom I am addressing, having been drawn from the retirement of my home and the congregation of my own parishioners, to exhort you upon this occasion; but if you are in fact, and not in profession only, Christians; if you are penetrated with a grateful sense of the redemption that is in Jesus; if you are alive to the blessings which you yourselves enjoy, under a mild government, amidst an enlightened society, and with the full knowledge and free exercise of that comfortable and benevolent religion, of which the very essence is universal love, I feel that I am not a stranger amongst you. I trust that I possess the avenues and access to your benevolence, by means of that general tie which connects us as the several members of one Christian family.

In the darker ages of our religion, so deeply had the assurance contained in the text impressed itself on the minds of Christians, that we find the endowment of monasteries, and other great acts of public munificence, to have proceeded from the most notorious sinners, who considered it as a mode of compounding with the Almighty for their enormities. But it is not the offering of such cold and ostentatious charity that can be acceptable to that God, who chooses to have mercy rather than sacrifice. The charity which I ask of you, in sup-

port of these establishments, the charity which will be a help to yourselves in the great day of trouble, must proceed from the benevolence of the mind, from a conviction of the usefulness of that which is required of you, and a willing disposition to ameliorate the condition of your fellow creatures, and promote their prospect of everlasting salvation. Let your gift be according to your means; let it be according to the dictates of your heart; without attracting unnecessary observation, mingle your contribution with those of your neighbours, and if it is large and unobserved, your Father, who seeth in secret, will reward you openly; and our blessed Saviour, who knows the secret springs and motives of our actions, will remember the comfortable assurance he gave us in his days of sorrow, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Nor let these considerations be disregarded by the happy children who are the objects of your benevolence. Let the meaning of the text be deeply impressed on their recollection: let it elevate their thoughts with gratitude to that all-powerful and all-merciful Being, who not only gave himself to a cruel death for their salvation in the next world, but left as his last legacy to the poor on earth this blessed declaration, that to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to nourish the lambs of his flock with the milk of useful knowledge, is not only the strongest proof we can give of love and gratitude to our Redeemer, but the surest means of conciliating the favour of our immortal Judge in the hour of trial. Whatever may be the station to which they are destined, let them walk through life with the sentiments which must

flow from such considerations; let thankfulness to those who have fed and clothed and instructed them, fill their hearts with a just sense of gratitude, and a desire to yield unto others that assistance by which they have so largely profited; let it not, however, debase their minds into blind subserviency to any created being, but raise their youthful hearts to the fountain of every real and every perfect gift: and teach them to walk through the vale of life with the honest and temperate firmness which becomes those, who place unbounded confidence in the promises of a religion, which is the refuge of the distressed, the hope of the destitute, the bulwark and support of those who are struggling with the adversities of their mortal existence.

SERMON III.

ON CONFIRMATION.

Preached in Spofforth Church and Wetherby Chapel, July, 1817.

For as yet only they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus: Then laid they their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost.—Acts viii. 16, 17.

It appears by this passage, which relates to the first establishment of Christianity in Samaria, that the ceremony of Confirmation was adopted by the apostles Peter and John in the very infancy of our religion; and that after those, who were baptized, had been admitted within

the pale of the Christian common-wealth, the imposition of hands by the Apostles, who were the highest members of the primitive church, was still considered as wanting to enable them to enjoy the full benefits of their faith and to reap the perfect comforts of the religion in which they were initiated. The same ceremony performed after baptism by St. Paul at Ephesus (Acts xix.) appears to have conferred, not only the comforts of the Holy Spirit, but the miraculous gifts of tongues and prophesying; and in his epistle to the Hebrews (c. vi. 2.), enumerating the doctrines of Christ, he speaks "of the doctrine of baptism and of laying on hands" as of ceremonies necessarily connected, and established by the authority of our Saviour.

The use of this rite, so holy in its origin and productive of such stupendous benefits in the first years of Christianity, seems to have been transmitted by the earliest fathers through an uninterrupted course of practice to the present generation; and, although its continuance is not expressly ordered in the Scriptures, there appear no rational grounds for doubting that a ceremony which originated with the Apostles, which was pointed out by St. Paul as belonging to the most essential doctrines of our religion, and which must have been generally adopted under their sanction and authority, has been continued to the present day, in conformity with the original intentions of our Saviour.

The days of miracles are past, and the Church of Christ is advancing by natural means to the fulness of its establishment. It is proceeding by the force of its intrinsic excellence, by the evidences of its truth, by the illumination which it disperses in its progress, and the

invaluable comforts of its revelation. We are not therefore to expect, from the imposition of hands by the highest ministers of the Church of Christ at the present day, those miraculous effects, that instantaneous and visible inspiration of the Holy Ghost, which the Almighty vouchsafed in the first age of Christianity, to give a living witness to his people, and awaken the sons of ignorance from the darkness that surrounded them by the immediate display of his omnipotence. The days of miracles are past; but the comforts of the Holy Spirit are lasting and invariable. We cannot approach the throne of heaven with our thoughts and hold communion with our Saviour, without feeling our hearts refreshed and our bosoms animated by a more genuine glow of piety; and it need not be doubted that those who go to this necessary ceremony of their religion, with zealous thoughts, with an unshaken faith in their Redeemer, and a determination to put on the armour of righteousness, and defend, through all the snares of life and temptations of inordinate desires, that boon which was conferred upon them at their baptism, will return with a more fervent sense of piety, and a mind invigorated by a closer connexion with the Church of Christ, and a firmer confidence in his redemption.

It has been seen that at the first establishment of the Christian Church amongst the Gentiles, when persons of ripe years and mature understandings were baptized, this ceremony was reckoned necessary to admit them to the full benefits of their religion; but amongst ourselves, whilst baptism is uniformly conferred upon infants who are unable to comprehend the boon which they are receiving, or to promise those things by which they must

entitle themselves to its enjoyment, and are therefore on account of their tender years permitted to speak by means of their sureties who are answerable for them till they come to years of discretion, the observance of some ceremony of this nature becomes a matter of absolute necessity: and I do not speak too strongly, when I say, that those who knowingly and wilfully neglect to embrace the opportunity to which they are invited of taking upon themselves their baptismal vow by Confirmation, may be considered as disposed to renounce the advantages of their redemption, or at least as very little solicitous to secure them.

Let me beseech all those amongst you who have attained the age at which they may be supposed to have acquired a competent knowledge of the fundamental doctrines of their religion, and have not yet been confirmed, to consider the state in which they came into the world, the situation in which they stand at present, and the nature and condition of their future prospects.

You were born helpless, ignorant, exposed to the temptations of vice, inheritors of the wrath entailed upon you by the transgression of your forefathers, and without any claim upon the mercy of the Almighty. The baptism of our Saviour was instituted, for the purpose of admitting those who are children of sin and the heirs of wrath, to the inestimable blessing of his redemption, that they might be purified and discharged from the original guilt which they inherited; that they might be placed in a situation, in which their future prospects should depend upon the proper exercise of the powers entrusted to them; a situation in which they might be able to work out their own salvation, and to look forward

with confidence through the vicissitudes of their mortal existence to a better and eternal life. It must however appear evident, that baptism must be an unavailing ceremony, and that no firm reliance can be placed on the advantages expected from it, if those who receive it are unwilling to renounce the dominion of that sin from which they are to be delivered, to believe in that Saviour through whom they are to be redeemed, and to obey the commandments of that God from whom they are to obtain their salvation. If we cling to the guilt we have inherited, how can we be purified from it by baptism? If we have no faith in the merits of our Redeemer, how can the sacrifice of his death avail us? If we are stubborn and rebellious servants, how can baptism secure to us the favour of our Master?

From these considerations, a solemn vow is wisely required from all those who are about to be admitted by baptism into the Church of Christ, that they will renounce the devil, and (as far as is compatible with human frailty) the dominion of all those evil lusts by which the enemy of man seduces him from the paths of righteousness; that they believe in the truth of those doctrines and that religion which was promulgated by our Saviour; and that they intend to strive throughout their lives to walk after the commandments of God, and to fashion their conduct according to the precepts of the Gospel. From an anxious desire in the Christian Church to confer the invaluable benefits of baptism at the earliest period, upon those who by reason of their tender years are unable to express or to comprehend the nature of such promises, the answer of their sureties is accepted on their behalf, who become pledges that as soon as they arrive

at years of discretion, they will confirm the vow, and take upon themselves the obligations which were contracted for them in their infancy.

Your claim therefore upon the mercy of the Almighty, your hope in the promises of the Christian revelation, your eternal prospect of a bright and glorious inheritance in heaven, depends upon your fulfilling those pledges which were made for you at your baptism. If, after having been baptized, and made to comprehend the solemn engagements under which you live, you are willing to dwell under the dominion of Satan, if you are faithless in the merits and incredulous of the doctrines of your Saviour, if you are heedless of the divine commandments and care not to regulate your lives according to the will of God, the mystical washing away of sin will have been but an unavailing and fruitless ceremony.

The Christian Church, most anxious for the proper instruction of children in the fundamental knowledge of their religion, and aware that a pledge before the holy fount could add but little to the natural solicitude of parental fondness, refuses at all times to accept the mere promises of the parents, and required at the time of your baptism the solemn declaration of other sureties. It has been the duty of those, who made themselves then responsible for you, to see that you have been properly instructed during your childhood in the wholesome doctrines and most important truths of your religion; not merely rehearsing the words of your catechism, but understanding the lessons it contains. It was their duty to ascertain that the nature of those engagements, into which they have entered on your behalf, has been sufficiently explained to you; and it is their duty, *now* that

you have been taught the articles of our faith, and have been made to comprehend the obligations by which they have bound you,—*now*, before you enter the tumultuous theatre of life, before you are contaminated by vicious examples and seductive pleasures, to bring you before the face of the Church, to answer for yourselves, whether you hold the faith in which you were baptized; and whether you are willing to abide by the vow which has been made for you. And it is your duty, as you value the blessings that are peculiar to the Christian community, to stand forward with alacrity to assert that you are disposed to act that part which alone can secure them to you.

If there be any amongst you who have attained a more advanced period of life, without having embraced any opportunity for the confirmation of their baptismal vow, let me urge them to remember that it is never too late to repair an error, and to supply a dangerous omission. Deceive not yourselves by thinking that it is sufficient in your private thoughts to intend the performance of the baptismal promises, without taking the trouble of publicly confirming them. If you are so lukewarm in your dealings that you will not travel a few miles or spend a few hours to ratify your part of the contract with the Almighty, can you have any reasonable claim upon the benefits attached to it? And let me beseech those who are going to this important ceremony, to commune seriously with their secret thoughts, and to fill themselves with a devout consideration of the engagements they are going to renew, the duties on which they are about to enter, and the promises they are bound to fulfil. You go as children who have thought as yet, and acted but little for yourselves,

and for whose conduct your instructors have been, in a great measure, responsible. You will return perfect members of the Christian Church, having confirmed the engagements by which you became entitled to an inheritance of eternal happiness, with the best privilege of discreeter years, that of approaching the communion of our Saviour, and strengthening your piety by a participation in his holy sacraments.

You are about to enter on the uncertain and variable theatre of life, which is probably depictured to your youthful imaginations in colours brighter and more alluring than the best reality: and unobscured by the shades which misfortune, disappointments, the malice of others, and your own misconduct perchance will cast over it. But whatever may be the ultimate event of your present prospects, whether your best hopes be realized by the most prosperous and unclouded journey through all the vicissitudes of life, or whether evil days await you, and the heavy pressure of unexpected calamities, let it never be forgotten that a strict adherence to the promises which have been made at your baptism, will be your firmest bulwark in the moments of prosperity, your best support and comfort in every trial of affliction. May you go to the confirmation of your baptismal vow with a deep sense of the most solemn obligations, and a fixed determination to fulfil them; may you return strengthened in every virtuous intention; confirmed in your faith, and comforted by the heart-gladdening and holy witness of an approving conscience. May the sincerity of your determination become manifest hereafter by a godly and righteous course of actions, by a charitable disposition, a strict observance of integrity and truth, a chaste and

sober frame of mind, a fervent piety towards your Maker, a humble but unshaken confidence in your Redeemer; that when the hour of death arrives you may look forward with well-grounded hope to the throne of mercy, and say, "I have struggled against the domination of sin; I have kept the faith; I have shaped my life according to the commandments of the Almighty." If you wander from the paths of righteousness, you will have no excuse of ignorance to offer. The piety which is demanded from you is exemplified by every word of the prayer in which our Saviour has commanded us to address our Father; the faith which you must hold is summed up to you in the articles of your creed; the moral duties required from you are luminously set forth by the catechism in which you have been instructed, and are made intelligible to the most limited capacity by the Gospel of our Saviour.

At every period of your lives, when evil temptations assail you, and the heart struggles with unruly passions, may the remembrance of the solemn blessing you are about to receive from the highest Minister of our Church, after having ratified and renewed the promises of your baptism, be an earnest to you of the grace which God will infallibly vouchsafe to you, whenever you implore his help with a real and unfeigned piety, and a determined wish to obtain the mastery over unholy and corrupt desires.

I have learnt with regret that there are some infatuated parents, who, from a disbelief in the efficacy of solemn forms, are desirous of withholding their children from a participation in this holy ceremony, which they have stigmatised with the name of priestcraft. If they attach any signification to the term which they apply to it, they

must intend to assert that this salutary rite is to be likened unto the futile ceremonies and pretended miracles of the darker ages, when an ambitious and designing priesthood attempted to govern the people by the guidance of superstition, keeping their minds shackled by the profoundest ignorance, for the purpose of establishing their own influence and authority, and discouraging them from referring to the precious volume of the Sacred Writings, which is the fountain of every virtue.

Let me request every one of you to consider, whether there exists the slightest grounds for such an imputation. Is any authority to be obtained, any personal ambition to be gratified, any secret object to be established, by those who exhort you to participate in this ceremony? Where is the disposition to retain you in ignorance, or make you attach an unmeaning value to useless and unnecessary forms? Is it not a call upon you to awaken and enlighten your understandings; to reflect upon all the circumstances of your present situation; to look forward into the prospect of your future years; to weigh and consider deeply the promises which were made for you in your infancy; to examine the nature and particulars of the faith in which you were baptized; to form upon mature reflection a steady and well-grounded determination as to future conduct; to come before the congregation of the Church, having your minds replenished with a just apprehension and knowledge of those things which are most necessary for your own salvation and the well-being of society, and make an open and public declaration of that which you have learnt, of that which you believe, and of that which you intend to practise. Is this the dominion of a crafty priesthood, or is it an

open liberal enlightened call upon a free and enlightened people? Is it a futile and unmeaning ceremony, or a solemn and important period in the life of every individual, by which he is summoned to reflections in which he might never otherwise have engaged; by which he is, in a manner, compelled to the early study of the fundamental articles of his religion; by which he is excited, at his first outset in life to form to himself a just and precise view of the principles upon which he is to frame the whole tenor and conduct of his future actions?

Let me entreat those who have suffered themselves to be led astray by this unmeaning prejudice, to consider that, where the grounds of objection are not very clear and urgent, it is the part of every wise and sober mind to conform with the established institutions; and that if for the gratification of presumptuous vanity in setting their own crude and undigested opinions above the well concerted regulations of our forefathers, they withhold their children from reflecting upon and publicly professing the articles of their faith and the principles of their religion, and strive to defeat the earnest call which is made upon them by the Ministers of the Church, the ignorance and neglect of these their children will be upon their heads. It is they who act with a purpose substantially similar to what they reprobate under the name of priestcraft, if, from the desire of promoting the influence of any sect, they restrain their families from that regular, serious, and public profession of their faith, their principles, and dispositions, which cannot fail to have a salutary effect upon their future lives.

The book of knowledge is open to you. You are

invited by us to study it; you are urged, every one of you in his private chamber, to reflect upon the excellent and consolatory lessons it contains. The Ministers of the Church of England have no superstitious forms to dazzle you with, no secret influence to maintain, no ceremonies to enforce, which are not evidently conducive to the cultivation of your best feelings, the establishment of your morals, the enlightening of your understandings, the just direction of your future conduct, and the general harmony of a pious and well organised society.

SERMON IV.

ON TAKING THE SACRAMENT.

Preached at Spofforth, on Christmas-day, 1817.

As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death, till he come.—1 Cor. xi. 26.

THE day on which our blessed Redeemer condescended to put on a mortal body, and the day which saw him nailed to the cross as an atonement for the iniquities of mankind, are two periods of the year at which Christians have been generally most desirous of participating in that holy sacrament, which on the last evening of his life he ordained in perpetual remembrance of his sufferings.

The institution of the Lord's Supper is related by three of the Evangelists, and by St. Paul, in the chapter from which the text is taken; and in the sixth chapter of

the Gospel of St. John, who alone has omitted the particulars of the last supper, the language of our Saviour has an evident relation to the ceremony he intended to ordain. "I am the bread of life"—"Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and him will I raise up on the last day." The accounts which are given by the other three Evangelists and St. Paul agree in the closest manner.

St. Matthew writes, "As they were eating, Jesus took bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body; and he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye *all* of this, for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins."

In St. Mark we find these words, "As they did eat, Jesus took bread and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to them, saying, Take, eat, this is my body: and he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, and they *all* drank of it; and he said unto them, This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many."

In St. Luke it is written, "He took bread and gave thanks and brake it, and gave it unto them, saying, This is my body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you."

St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, used the following words, "The Lord Jesus, the same night in which he

was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks he brake it, and said, Take, eat, this is my body, which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood; this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me." St. Paul goes on in the words of the text to explain, that as often as the bread shall be eaten, and the wine drank, in this holy ceremony, it will be taken in testimony of the death of our Saviour, until the end of the world, when he shall come again to be our judge.

This being the simple statement given by the inspired writers of the institution of the Lord's Supper, which was the mode in which he commanded all his followers to testify a grateful and perpetual recollection of his death, it appears strange that any persons professing to be disciples of Christ, and expecting to enjoy hereafter the advantages of his expiation, should think themselves justified by any excuse for neglecting to comply with this last injunction of their dying Saviour. But an unfortunate misconception appears to have rooted itself in the minds of some of the most respectable members of our community, who have alarmed themselves by an unfounded apprehension of some imaginary danger in approaching the table of their Redeemer.

In the earlier ages of Christianity so completely was the participation in this hallowed rite a test of Christianity, that the exclusion of a notorious ill-doer from the communion was one of the strongest acts of ecclesiastical authority. It is well known that in the former times of our history, the sentence of excommunication, which was the formidable process by which an individual was shut

out from the Church, and separated from all communication with Christians, little as it is now considered, except on account of the civil disabilities that accompany it, had the most powerful influence over the minds of our ancestors. The exclusion of those, whose vicious life and uncharitable demeanor gave public scandal to their neighbours, from the sacrament which all were desirous of receiving, was a less severe engine of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The Minister was ordered by the Rubric, if any man was a notorious open and ill-doer, or was at variance with his neighbours, or had done them wrong by word or deed, so that the congregation was thereby offended, to repel him from the Lord's table until he had amended his conduct, and made satisfaction for his offences: and the Minister, after so repelling him, was enjoined to give information to the Bishop, that proceedings might be instituted against the delinquent. But the propriety of excluding such ill-doers from the Lord's supper (however conformable to the language of St. Paul, who says, " with such an one, no, not to eat") was not a direct doctrine of our faith, or an article of our religion; nor had it reference to the security of those who were excluded, but to the purity of the church and of its members, who might have been contaminated by their communion. It furnished also, as long as there existed an universal desire to participate in the sacrament, a strong and powerful engine of church discipline, for the purpose of correcting the morals, and enforcing, in the most urgent manner, the necessity of immediate repentance and amendment. It rarely now happens that a minister repels an evil man from the sacrament, or that a church-

warden presents him at the visitation; but the power which still exists, in former times was exercised more frequently. The strong language in the exhortations of the Communion Service was evidently set forth with the same intention of urging the congregation to an immediate reformation of their lives. Unfortunately they have failed of producing the effect that was desired, while they appear to have averted a large portion of the people from the most comfortable and salutary rite of our religion: by giving rise in their minds to an imaginary fear of some peculiar danger in partaking of the sacrament, which is not founded on the language of our Saviour, which is not supported by any expression of his Apostles, which is not warranted by any syllable of the Gospel.

It was a general precept of our Saviour, that those, who sin from ignorance, or from thoughtless frailty, will stand in a very different situation on the last day from those, who knowingly, and through determined perverseness, rebel against their Maker; that those who add hypocrisy to vice, who clothe themselves with an outward garb of sanctity which proves that they are fully sensible of the nature and consequence of their iniquities, will be in danger of greater wrath than those who are led astray by the warmth of passion or the pernicious influence of bad example. "If ye knew not," says he, "ye were without sin;" and in another place, "Wo unto ye, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; for ye devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers; therefore ye shall receive greater damnation."

If therefore a man, conscious of an iniquitous course of life, feeling no sorrow for his depravity, but persevering

in a determined course of vice, and stifling the upbraidings of his conscience, should presume to approach the table of our Saviour without faith in his merits, without thankfulness for his death, without hope in his redemption, but for the base purpose of seeking favour in the eyes of men, and colouring a vicious life by a pretence of holiness, so would he fall under the denunciation of our Lord, as an hypocrite who would receive greater damnation. There is nothing however in that denunciation more particularly applicable to the participation in the sacrament, than to every other act of hypocritical prayer and thanksgiving, when we draw near to God with our lips, but our hearts are far from him, and we make the worship of our Creator a cloke to hide the deformity of our iniquities. Yet it is only from passages of like import that any foundation can be laid for the supposition our danger in approaching the table with an uneasy conscience; and therefore the warning in the Prayer-Book must be taken in this point of view only, and with this distinct explanation, that there is no syllable in the Scriptures which implies a more particular danger of that nature in the Lord's Supper, than in every other act of devotion, where the lips are at variance with the real feelings, and dissimulating vice assumes the appearance of holiness; and the danger is only greater, inasmuch as the occasion is more solemn, and demands from us more irreproachable sincerity.

The 29th Article of our Church, which states, that the wicked, though they may press the sacrament with their teeth, are not partakers of Christ, but rather to their condemnation eat and drink the signs of so great a thing,

seems to have been directed partly against the superstitious idea of the actual presence of the Lord's body, and partly against the mischievous notion which some persons were supposed to entertain, that because Jesus said, "Whoso eateth my body, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life," the mere reception of the sacrament would procure forgiveness for those whose obstinate wickedness deprived them of the advantages of his atonement. The substance of its doctrine is this, to which all rational persons must assent; that those whose iniquitous life prevents them from participating in the hopes of a happy resurrection through the expiation of Christ, do not, in taking the outward signs of his sacrament, receive any benefit thereby, but rather take it in evidence against themselves at the last judgment, that they knew the good and pretended to follow it, while their hearts were teeming with depravity.

The words of St. Paul, concerning the danger of receiving the sacrament unworthily, quoted as they are in the Prayer-Book,* without any allusion to the sentences

* Our Liturgy is one of the most excellent and judicious productions of human wisdom; but it is impossible to read the warning in the Communion Service without perceiving that the words of St. Paul have been placed there in a situation where their meaning appears dubious, from a laudable but perhaps over-anxious desire of urging the communicants to repentance. Yet it never could have been actually intended by those exhortations, that every man who took the sacrament with a sense of some uncorrected faults, would be, on that account, in danger of God's eternal displeasure; because by the same authority which promulgated the Liturgy, all the ministers of the Church, and almost all persons in any public station, are compelled to take the sacrament upon various occasions: and however desirable it is, that persons in ostensible situations, and especially the Ministers of the Church, should lead a pious and exemplary life, it could not have been expected that they should be

which precede and follow them, and which distinctly explain their meaning, are liable to the greatest misconception; and indeed without reference to the chapter from which they are extracted, they cannot possibly be understood.

The words "receiving the sacrament *unworthily*," in the eleventh chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, mean simply the eating and drinking the bread and wine in *an unworthy, irreverend, and indecent manner;* and in that sense they are to be understood in the 25th Article of our Church. At the first establishment of Christianity the Jews had been in the habit of eating the passover as a feast, and the heathens, when they sacrificed to their idols, made a joyful repast upon some part of the animals that were slain; and on that account, although it appears now improbable that any persons should eat the Lord's Supper indecently, it required much exhortation from the Apostles to persuade the Jews and Gentiles of the impropriety of making a meal, and sometimes an intemperate repast, of the Lord's Supper. Therefore to the Corinthians, who appear to have contended with each other for the food, and drunk the wine, even to intoxication, at the Lord's table,

entirely exempt from the failings to which our nature is too liable, nor could it have been intended that upon every scruple of an unquiet mind they should renounce their offices and plunge the whole country, by so doing, in confusion. The Prayer-Book contains even an order that every parishioner shall communicate at least three times in the year, of which Easter shall be one; an order which perhaps every man is liable to ecclesiastical process for disobeying. And how can it be reasonably supposed, that the same book of prayer which enjoins every man to take the sacrament, could have meant really to inform him, that, if he obeyed the order, he would endanger his salvation?

St. Paul wrote in these words, "When ye therefore come together, *this* is not to eat the Lord's Supper; for in eating every one taketh before other his own supper; and one is hungry, and another is drunken. What? have ye not houses to eat and drink in? or despise ye the Church of God?" In those words you find a distinct and indignant charge against the Corinthians, of eating the Lord's Supper in the most greedy, intemperate, and unworthy manner. St. Paul goes on to state in what mode and words our Saviour had instituted the sacrament, and after saying that the bread and wine were to be taken in remembrance of the body and blood of Christ until his coming again, he adds, "Wherefore whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup unworthily" (that is, in an unworthy and indecent manner), "shall be guilty of the body and blood of Christ," that is to say, shall be guilty of having profaned the body and blood of our Saviour by the indecorous manner of receiving it. "But" (he continues) "let a man examine himself, and *so* let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup;" or in other words, Let a man examine his thoughts and consider seriously what he is about to do, and let him receive the bread and wine in that decent tone of mind which such reflections must necessarily produce. "For," St. Paul adds, "he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body." That is to say, he that eateth and drinketh in an unworthy and improper manner, eateth and drinketh condemnation to himself, because he does not discern or distinguish the bread which is taken, as the Lord's body, from his common food. And here let it be observed that the word damnation in that verse,

which has alarmed many ignorant persons, has no reference whatsoever to the eternal damnation of the last day. The original word in the Greek language, in which St. Paul wrote, means only *judgment;* and it is the same expression which is so rendered in a following verse; and in the last verse of the chaper the very word is translated condemnation. Indeed at the time when our Bible was translated, the word damnation was used frequently in the common sense of condemnation, without any reference to the last judgment. St. Paul in the next verse distinctly states, that he is not speaking of damnation in the next world; for he says, "For this cause," (that is, *for eating the Lord's supper intemperately*) "many are weak and sickly amongst you, and many sleep. For if we would judge ourselves," (or more properly, *if we would discern ourselves*, for it is the same word which in the foregoing verse was translated *discern*, that is to say, *consider and distinguish what we are doing*) "we should not be judged. But when we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord that we should not be condemned *with the world.*" The word which is here rendered *chastened* implies to be educated or corrected as children; and St. Paul means that those amongst the first Christians, who were guilty of taking the Sacrament greedily and irreverently, were chastened by the Lord with sickness, or weakness,as children are corrected by their parents and instructors, in order that they might not be called hereafter into judgment on that account with the whole world in the last day. He then concludes the chapter with these words, which completely shew the meaning of all that had gone before. "Therefore, my brethren, when ye come together to eat, tarry one for

another; and if any man hunger, let him eat at home, that ye come not together unto condemnation."

I hope that I have made it sufficiently and distinctly evident that this rebuke of St. Paul's to the Corinthians was levelled entirely against the quarrelsome and intemperate manner in which they ate the Lord's Supper, without any reference to their former characters or conduct. Having therefore disposed, I trust, of any scruples that might have deterred those, who had formed a hasty and mistaken notion of the meaning of the Apostle, let us consider, whether there exist any rational grounds upon which a real Christian can justify the absenting himself at all times from the supper of our Lord on account of his imperfections.

All of us, if we reflect at all, and are not led astray by the most heedless vanity, must be conscious of innumerable failings in our dispositions, and frailties in our conduct; we must all be sensible of faults which give secret uneasiness to our feelings, though we have not strength of resolution sufficient to overcome them. We humble ourselves before our Maker: we confess our errors, and pray to him for grace to enable us to amend our lives and struggle against temptations, and yet the next moment perhaps the frailty of human nature prevails over our better thoughts. But will any man imagine, that such an individual, kneeling with a sorrowful sense of his unworthiness, praying for the forgiveness of his Maker, looking with humble hope and zealous faith to the mercy of the Almighty and the redemption of his Saviour, is not more fit, even with a thousand faults upon his head, to communicate humbly at the table of his Redeemer in testimony of a thankful remembrance

of his death, than he who in presumptuous vanity shall think himself worthy to gather up the crumbs beneath it? "We do not presume to come to this thy table, O Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies." It is not so much the conduct of your past lives or the strength even of your future resolutions, as the tone and temper in which you now approach the table, that render you fit or unfit to partake in the Holy Sacrament. We read in St. John, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us; if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." (1 John i. 8.) The Publican with all his faults, who smote his breast and said, "Lord, be merciful to me a sinner," will be justified in the last day before the Pharisee, who thanked his God that he was less unworthy.

If there is any one amongst you so stubborn in his determination to evil, so hardened in iniquity, that he has no desire to amend his life, no regret for his transgressions, no feeling of charity to his neighbours, no thankfulness for the sufferings of his Redeemer, no faith in his merits, no hope in his redemption, to him I say, Stand off, "you cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils." If any one bears heinous malice against his neighbours, or is cruel and uncharitable, and determines atrociously to persist in his hard-hearted and merciless career, such a man is unfit to draw near the table; but in the same breath I must confess that such a man, while he continues in that state of mind, has no prospect of everlasting happiness. That person, however, who admits himself to be unfit to join in this solemn

ceremony of thanksgiving for the redemption of our Saviour, by his own judgment pronounces that he has no hopes of salvation. Let me therefore entreat you, if you entertain any expectation of reaping the benefit of his atonement, with a sorrowful and penitent sense of your own unworthiness, with a zealous faith in his merits, with a humble confidence in the mercies of the Almighty, to approach the holy table, and join with us in fulfilling the last commands of our Saviour. If your minds are in so dreadful a state, that you dare not and cannot without hypocrisy participate in this ceremony, think, O think, before the hour is past, that the glass is running fast and the moment will soon arrive, that must consign you to unavailing remorse and everlasting punishment! Consider that whoever declares himself unable or unwilling to assist in this comfortable rite of thanksgiving, makes it evident to the congregation, that although he may bear the name, he is not in heart a Christian. Our Saviour, who instituted this holy Sacrament, was sent to comfort those who needed a physician, and in his blessed life he condescended to eat with publicans and sinners. If any therefore amongst you imagine that the frailties, which are inherent in human nature, render them unfit to approach his communion, let them remember that we are all unworthy; that when we come to the altar, we do not confide in our own merits, but in the mercies of the Omnipotent: and that to withdraw from the Sacrament on account of a humble feeling of our own imperfections is in truth to destroy the institution of our Saviour and to break down the ceremony he has instituted for the perpetual memory of his sacrifice; for to imagine that any man can be qualified by his own worthiness to partake in

the supper of our Lord would be the most impious vanity and presumption. Indeed I can scarcely conceive a doctrine more likely to produce mischievous results than that by which persons should be expected to decide for themselves, otherwise than by the present temper of their minds, whether they are worthy to receive the Sacrament. It would be a mode of discrimination that must assuredly bring forward the vain and thoughtless, while it deterred the pious and deserving; for vice is puffed up with arrogant pretensions, but true piety is humble, diffident, and retiring. It is plain to all of us, that a good life, a penitent sense of our frailties, and a disposition to amend our lives according to his holy law, is necessary to entitle us at last to obtain the fruit of Christ's redemption. The good effects of the Sacrament must depend much upon the temper and preparation of him who receives it; and, as an excellent divine has observed, "if these acts are not seriously and sincerely performed, God is dishonoured and his institution is profaned." (Burnet, art. p. 435.) We are all unprofitable servants; but to imagine, if we are conscious of our imperfections, that the absenting ourselves from the table of our Lord and neglecting his last institution in remembrance of his blessed sufferings, can put us in a better situation, appears to be the utmost folly and misconception. Recollect that our Saviour excluded no man from his last supper. Even his betrayer was permitted to participate. He said, "Drink ye *all* of this, for this is my blood of the New Testament."

Let no man absent himself time after time under the vain excuse that he wants preparation. It is right and meet that we should be at all times prepared. "Watch

and pray," says our Lord, "for ye know not when the hour cometh." It is more especially our duty to be prepared, whenever we are about to offer up our petitions to the Almighty and to join in any act of solemn devotion. It is very much our bounden duty, when we are about to eat the body and drink the blood of Christ in remembrance of his redemption, that we should throw aside all malice and determine to correct our lives so as to entitle ourselves to the benefits which he has promised to his faithful servants; and lead ourselves by a previous examination of our behaviour to a just sentiment of our imperfections. But if you have delayed one duty, is that an adequate excuse for now postponing another? If you have heretofore neglected to commune with your own minds, and adopt wholesome resolutions with respect to your future lives, is that a reason for now absenting yourselves from the number of those, who are about to prostrate themselves before the table of the Lord, to implore pardon for their offences and offer thanksgiving for his sufferings? Is it not rather a reason for joining in our petitions with a more contrite heart, with a deeper feeling of your infirmities? Is it not a cause for warmer thanksgiving to that Saviour, by whose atonement the gate of salvation is still open to you, if with penitent heart and true faith you reform your morals and amend your conduct?

Are you conscious of faults, that hang heavy on the mind, and for which you often supplicate the forgiveness of your Creator, though you have not strength entirely to surmount them? Is that a reason for refusing this testimony of gratitude to your Redeemer? If you are not lost to all hope, if you have any faith in the mercies of

the Almighty, if you entertain a trembling expectation that in the judgment of the last day you may not be found entirely wanting, draw near with humility and take this holy Sacrament to your endless comfort; join in our supplications with a new sense of piety; unite in our confessions with sincerity, and in our thanks with faith and gratitude, and you will return home from these holy mysteries with a chastened mind and a better disposition to all works of charity and godliness.

It was, my brethren, as upon this day, amidst the gloom and severities of winter, that our blessed Saviour came down from heaven, and took upon himself, together with a mortal body, all the vicissitudes, and sorrows, and temptations of our perishable existence. It has pleased the Almighty to convey through various types the revelations which he has vouchsafed to us. The sacrifice of Abraham, the lifting up of the serpent in the wilderness, the lying of Jonas in the whale three nights, are familiar to your recollections. Amongst the types of our immortality which nature is perpetually presenting to us, there is none perhaps so striking, or so evidently intended as a guide to our imaginations, as the condition of the grub which crawls and feeds for a season on the herbs of the earth, and then buries itself in the ground in its web and shell, as if in its shroud and coffin, till the time of its glory arrives, and it breaks forth with its wings arrayed in all the beauty of colours, no longer requiring food as a necessary of life, but disporting itself as a spirit in the air. It was probably conformable to that scheme of the Almighty which has revealed his mysteries through various types to our understandings, that our Saviour came to visit us in the winter and death-like season of

the year, as well as in the winter and desolation of man's spiritual existence, and that he brought immortality and new hopes of glory to light by his resurrection, at the season when all nature is bursting from its temporary death to new life and animation. Let me beseech you to yield your minds to the animating impression of those beautiful and sublime similitudes, which seem to have proceeded from the very hand of the Almighty. Consider the dark and abject situation of humanity before the manifestation of our Saviour, without any certainty beyond the gloomy annihilation of the grave, without any intercessor at the throne of offended Majesty, without any hope or consolation under the oppression of insurmountable afflictions: —and elevate your thoughts from that view of desolation from the deep gloom of a cheerless and unprofitable mortality, to the bright prospects that are opened to you by the birth, by the sufferings, by the resurrection of your Redeemer. Let them be a light to your understandings, a beacon to the enthusiasm of your imaginations; let them arouse you to pure hopes, to a newness of life, to the sweet comfort of well-grounded and immortal expectations. Approach the table of our Lord with purified minds; with kindly and benevolent feelings, as if awaking from the gloom and winter of the soul at the sweet call of an incorruptible and balmy spring; return from this holy communion of praise and thanksgiving, not with dark terrors and imaginary apprehensions, but with the gentle consolation of having communicated with that blessed and all-merciful Being, who has himself tasted the sorrows and known the frailties of humanity; of that all-bountiful Benefactor, who quitted the glory of his Father, the kingdom of omnipotence and eternity, to wade through

the miseries of an abject condition under the scorn and oppression and violence of mankind, for the blessed purpose of raising his sinful and fallen people from the gloom of utter hopelessness to a bright participation of his inheritance in heaven.

SERMON V.

ON THE FAST DAY.

Preached at Spofforth, March 21st, 1832.—First printed (with permission) by some of his Parishioners, for their own use and edification.

His disease was exceeding great; yet in his disease he sought not to the Lord, but to the physicians.—2 CHRONICLES XVI. 12.

THESE words relate to the disease, which terminated the life of Asa king of Judah. The consideration of the circumstances of his life, and the brief memorial which has been transmitted to us of his death, may lead to reflections which would at all times be profitable, but are more especially suited to the occasion of our present supplications to the Almighty. At the commencement of his reign he had turned with all his heart to the Lord his God, and taken away the idols of strange Gods, and cut down the groves, and broken down the high places in which they had been worshipped, and he had commanded Judah to seek the Lord God of their fathers, and to do the law and the commandment, and he had no war in those years, for the Lord gave him rest. And, because

his kingdom grew mighty and prosperous under the protection of the Almighty, Zerah the Ethiopian came against him with a million of fighting men. King Asa had a army of 580,000 disciplined soldiers, but he did not rely upon their valour, nor upon his fenced cities, to save him, but he cried to the Lord his God, and said, "Lord, it is nothing with thee to help, whether with many, or with few; O Lord our God, we rest upon thee!" So the Lord smote the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians fled; and, for six and thirty years of his reign, Asa relied upon the protection of the Almighty, and Judah at his instigation entered into a covenant to seek the Lord, and the Lord gave them rest. But, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, Baasha king of Israel came up against him, and built Ramah in order to blockade the territory of Judah; and Asa sent to Benhadad the idolatrous king of Syria, to remind him of the treaty which had existed between their fathers, and prayed him to make a diversion in his favour by attacking the king of Israel; and Benhadad did so, and the king of Israel abandoned the building of Ramah, and Asa entered it, and destroyed it. Once more he had prospered against his enemies, but the victory had been gained by human aid, by the assistance of the idolators, by the arm of flesh, and not by the presence and might of the Lord of Hosts. And God condescended to send a prophet to admonish Asa, because he had relied on the king of Syria, and not on the Lord his God; and Asa was angered, and threw the prophet into prison; but the Lord was merciful and of long-suffering towards him, and not until the third year after this sinful act, did He afflict Asa with a disease in his feet. If the Almighty had sent upon him a more

grievous and immediate visitation, perhaps he might have humbled himself before the terrors of the Lord; but in its commencement he probably thought it a trifling inconvenience; he had habituated himself to imagine that he might prosper by the help of man, and instead of turning himself unto Him, by whose arm he had formerly experienced such a signal deliverance, instead of supplicating Him to remove the distemper with which he was visited for his iniquity, he sought after those whose skill was utterly unavailing against the will of the Omnipotent. He had recourse to the assistance of human physicians, and the consequence was such as might have been easily anticipated, that, under the care of those who were powerless for salvation, his complaint became very grievous, and he was soon laid in his sepulchre. Whether or not a sincere and heartfelt return to the Disposer of all events would have induced the Lord to remove the affliction which had been sent in consequence of his delinquency, must rest in the knowledge of Him alone to whom all secrets are open; but it is probable that the all-powerful Being, who had stooped to remonstrate with his servant, would have lent a willing ear to supplication and repentance. We know that the Lord is always nigh unto those that seek Him, and if the prayers of the meek and humble do not always appear to be crowned with success, it is because they know not what they ask, and the real effects, upon their ultimate and eternal happiness, of those things which now seem good to them, and are the objects of their most ardent wishes, are hidden from the penetration of beings so short-sighted and imperfect. We learn from this and numerous other passages in scripture, that sickness is

sent upon us from on high, not merely as a scourge and punishment for our offences, but as a merciful call upon us to repent while time is yet permitted us; as a gracious warning to bring us under the shelter of divine protection; and that he who does good in the sight of the Lord, and teaches others to do so, and relies with meek humility, but with entire and unbounded confidence, on the support of the Almighty, may walk through all the perils of this world without apprehension or solicitude. There are passages in scripture which mark to us that events, which appear to be ordinary occurrences of nature, are brought about, occasionally at least, and I dare not affirm that they are not always, by the immediate agency of the angels or messengers of God; and on the other hand, when we read of the mighty things which have been done by the angel of the Lord, we are not to imagine that they were accomplished by the hand of the messenger revealed in a bodily appearance to the sight of mankind, but that they were done by natural means through the instrumentality of the being to whom God had delegated his authority. Thus when Benhadad the Syrian compassed round the city of Dothan with a great host, in order to lay hands on Elisha, whose terrified servant exclaimed, "Alas, my master, what shall we do?" Elisha answered, "Fear not, for they that be with us, are more than they that be with them," and he prayed that his servant's eyes might be opened: and the Lord opened his eyes, and he saw that the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha. This wonderful revelation, which we read in the 5th chapter of the 2nd book of Kings, makes it evident, that the Lord did actually despatch a legion of His angels to defend the

person of His prophet; that he was not called figuratively, but in truth the Lord of hosts, though the mode in which His angels supported the righteous, and afflicted the wicked, was not distinguishable by human eyes, unless miraculously opened by the power of God to behold the things that were hidden from their discernment. On the other hand we are told in the 32nd chapter of the 2nd book of Chronicles, that the Lord sent an angel, which cut off all the mighty men of valour, and leaders and captains of the Assyrians; but we are not to suppose that the messenger appeared bodily to the Assyrians or smote them visibly with the sword, but that he used, as on other occasions, the natural means of a grievous pestilence. When the Lord smote the first-born of the Egyptians, we are told that it was done by "the Destroyer," [Exodus xii. 23.] but we have no reason to apprehend that they appeared to die otherwise than by a natural death, or presented any marks of violence done to them. In the last chapter of the 2nd book of Samuel, we learn that the Lord sent a pestilence to endure from the morning for three days, which destroyed 70,000 of his people; but in the following verses we read that it was done by means of His angel, and when the angel stretched his hand over Jerusalem, the Lord said, "It is enough," and the angel was stayed by the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite. Three days had the people fallen by the pestilence; they had witnessed and experienced the terrible chastisement of the Most High, but they discerned not the being through whose agency it was inflicted; but at the last hour the Lord opened the eyes of David, and of Gad the prophet, and of Araunah the Jebusite, and they were allowed to behold

the angel of destruction with his sword stretched over Jerusalem, in order that an altar might be raised on the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite in Moriah, on the spot where the expiation of our Saviour had been already typified by the offering of Isaac, and the last sacrifice was afterwards to be consummated. [See 2 Chronicles iii. 1.—1 Chronicles xxi. and 2 Samuel xxiv.] Upon this altar David sacrificed to the Lord, and the plague was stayed. In the like manner we read in the 16th chapter of Numbers, that when the people murmured after the destruction of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, the Lord said unto Moses, "Get you from amongst this congregation that I may consume them as in a moment," and immediately the plague was begun among the people, and 14,700 of them perished; but Aaron made atonement for the people, and stood between the dead and the living, and the plague was stayed. When Moses exclaimed, "There is wrath gone forth from the Lord, and the plague is begun," his words implied that the angel of wrath was gone forth, and the destroying messenger was probably revealed to him, as in aftertimes to David; and in both cases the plague was stayed, not by human aid, but by supplication and atonement. I have particularized these passages of scripture, to bring to your notice and recollection, that pestilence was in ancient times the usual visitation of the Lord, inflicted by the immediate hand of the messenger of his wrath, invisible to the bulk of his people, but revealed to the holy and elect of God; that we have no reason to assert or believe that pestilence in our times is not sent forth by the Almighty for similar reasons, and by the same terrible agency; that we have no reason to doubt that it is to be stayed by similar propitiation. Before the advent of our Saviour, it was averted by sup-

plication and atonement: for us, atonement has been fully, sufficiently, and perfectly made, by the sacrifice and blood of our Redeemer, and there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin; but to us there remaineth supplication, which, with atonement, was able to stand between the living and the dead, and to stay the plague. To us there remaineth also that which ensured rest and prosperity to Asa, so long as he adhered to it, namely, to do good, and keep the commandments, and teach others to do so, and to cry unto the Lord, and rely upon His protection with unbounded confidence, but then only when we have done the utmost, that human frailty permits us, to deserve it.

All sickness is given us for edification; to wean us from the love of this world, to call us to a due sense of the uncertain and frail tenure by which we hold our existence in it, and alarm us into the recollection of the awful necessity of conciliating the favour and averting the judgments of the Lord. But, frequent as are such admonitions to the most healthy and vigorous of mankind, we now stand in a predicament, in which it is particularly fitting to recollect for what causes pestilence was sent forth amongst men when the Lord revealed himself to His people, and by what means it was averted. The Destroyer was sent against the Egyptians, because Pharaoh hardened himself against the Lord, and relied upon his own might, after having witnessed the power of the Almighty; the Destroyer was let loose on the Jews the wilderness, because after having seen the destruc- of the rebellious, they trusted to their numbers and th, and murmured against the prophet of God; he nt against the people of David, because he num-

bered them, placing his security in their multitude and strength, and not in the help of Him who can give victory, whether to the many or to the few: he was sent against the captains of Sennacherib, because he boasted of his might which had overthrown the vain idols of Ivar and Sepharvaim, and reproached the living God. He was sent to the couch of Asa, king of Judah, because he had withdrawn his confidence from the God of his fathers, and placed it in the friendship of idolators and the skill of his physicians. In a word it was sent to every one of them, because of their pride and their unbelief; because of their deficiency in the two great fundamental characteristics of Christianity, humility and reliance upon God. Never since the earliest history of the world, has the messenger of wrath been sent forth to scatter more deadly pestilence, than has been cast during the latter years upon the nations. Never has the infliction of divine justice borne so strong an appearance of proceeding from the immediate agency of its ministering angel; defying the remedies of the most skilful, baffling the understanding and reasoning of the learned, limited by no season, or climate, or temperature; travelling against the wind as if under the guidance of some invisible and tremendous minister, and sweeping off thousands and hundreds of thousands in its unstayed progress.

On this island, blessed be the Almighty, the visitation of His wrath has as yet fallen with a very mitigated character; it has been rather the chastening of a parent correcting the son whom he loveth, than the baring of the right hand of vengeance. But let us not on that account esteem it lightly, or harden ourselves in ungrateful security, or neglect the only means of ensuring the

protection of God. Let us remember that those on whom the tower fell in Siloàm, were not greater sinners than those who dwelt in Jerusalem, and that, unless we repent, we shall all perish eternally. As yet it has carried off few but the dissolute and intemperate, or those who were debilitated by previous disease; and by alarming the wealthier classes of the community, and compelling them through regard for their own safety to alleviate the wants and provide for the cleanliness of the destitute, and by arousing many to a sense of their profligacy and their danger, it has perhaps produced in this kingdom more advantage than calamity to the aggregate body of the people. But the hand of the Destroyer is over us, and which is there amongst you who can have the boldness to assert, that the next hour it may not fall heavily upon his own town, and upon his own family and person? A few months are passed, since the inhabitants of an English town indulged themselves in the hope that their situation, as being more elevated, was more healthy than that of their suffering neighbours, and protected them from the disease. They rioted on the Sabbath, and profaned the Lord's day by their drunkenness, and at midnight the scourge of God was upon them, and before the day-break fifty were sinking under its infliction. And who will venture to assure me, that before the next Sabbath the plague may not be in our own houses, and the trenches crowded with our coffins? And are you all prepared to meet your Creator in his anger? Is there one amongst us who is ready at a word, at a moment's call, to go to that reckoning which is to determine the character of his future existence? to hear with pious and unruffled serenity the unexpected summons, that

this night his soul shall be required of him? There are some amongst you perhaps, who think it the proof of a manly and noble spirit to say that they do not fear death; nor have I ever been disposed to inculcate a cowardly apprehension of that which is the necessary termination of mortality: but I wish you to regard it as the period which must put an end to all your endeavours after everlasting happiness; and, if the Lord should cut off any of you suddenly by this His visitation on account of your pride and unbelief, remember that you will die in your sins under the infliction of an offended God, and consider what in such case must be your eternal prospects in the world which is to come. Whether we look to the North, or to the South, the Destroyer is on our right hand and on our left, and now, even now while I am speaking to you, his unseen arm may be stretched over our habitations; and yet, as men did in the days of Noah, the people of this village indulge in profligacy and intemperance, regardless of the terrors of the Lord, until the hour when His wrath shall overwhelm them. Awake, arise, and start up from the everlasting danger under which you are slumbering: cry to the Lord, and He will hear; turn to His righteousness, and He will deliver you; rely upon His mercies, and He will be your shield and protection. "He shall give his angels charge over you, neither shall any plague come nigh your dwellings." But think not for one moment, that the abstinence of a day of fasting, or the ceremonial form of prayers, which proceed only from the lips, and have no root or foundation in the heart, will avail anything to turn aside the visitation of His anger. You must pray to Him from the ground of the heart, with a deep conviction of your

own unworthiness and a fervent confidence in the power and mercy of the Most High through the mediation of our Saviour; you must seek to do good, and to keep the commandments, and teach others to do so; you must put on the clothing of real Christian humility; you must take up the buckler of true faith, which is not dead and barren of good works, but proved to be fruitful by the morality of your life and conduct. We must turn unto the Lord our God with all our mind, and with all our soul, and with all our strength, and cry out, as Asa did in the days of his righteousness, "O Lord, we rest upon Thee!" So shall the plague be turned from among us, and the angel of wrath shall be stayed before our threshing floors. And, that we may have the will and the strength to do so, let us pray to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, that He may give us grace to make a right use of this His warning and return each of us from his evil ways; and that He may overshadow us with His mercy until this tyranny be overpast. To whom be ascribed, as it is most due, all honour, might, majesty, and dominion, both now and for ever.

SERMON VI.

ON THE THANKSGIVING FOR THE CESSATION OF THE CHOLERA:

Preached in Spofforth Church, April 14, 1833.

Rejoice in the Lord alway; and again I say, rejoice.—PHILIPPIANS iv. 4.

An eventful year has passed over the heads of this congregation, since we were assembled in the Church to humble ourselves before the terrors of the Lord, under the hourly expectation of a fearful manifestation of His anger amongst us. The destroying angel of the Almighty, who had smitten the population of the East, was travelling Westward in his inscrutable destination: his hand was even upon our country, and thousands were falling around us by the pestilence, encircling the little spot of our habitation with the most perilous contagion. There was not, I believe, one amongst our whole number, who did not look for the outbreaking of that terrible visitation in the immediate neighbourhood, if not within the threshold, of his dwelling. Under those circumstances you were summoned from your daily labour, from your avocations, from your daily pursuits, to the house of prayer; and the full attendance within these walls on that awful occasion testified at least, that you were not hardened in the ways of iniquity; that, if we had not heretofore had the wisdom or the steadiness to walk according to His commandments, we were at least awakened to a just sense of our insufficiency, and compelled by the dread of that season to seek shelter under the protection of our heavenly

Benefactor, in whose hands are the issues of life and death; whose ends are unsearchable by man, but ever merciful and benevolent; and who, whether it please Him to raise us from the bed of sickness or to strike us with sore and incurable disease, proceeds in the course of His just and all-wise government, not for the desolation, but for the correction and advantage, of mankind. At that critical period, when our minds were fluctuating between hope and apprehension, when no one could have anticipated whether the pestilence would speedily subside, or that, which had been suffered, was only a beginning of calamity, I attempted to point out for your edification that pride and unbelief, the want of Christian humility and reliance on the mercy of God, were the causes which brought similar disasters upon Israel; that prayer accompanied by repentance, and that repentance fruitful of good works grounded upon faith in the atonement of our Saviour, was the only propitiation by which the terrors of the destroyer could be averted; and that we had every reason to believe that, as prayer and atonement had been formerly sufficient, they would not be powerless and ineffectual now for our preservation. I am ignorant what impression my humble and inadequate exhortations may have produced upon your minds; they were given under a fervent sense of the truth of what I inculcated, and I am willing to believe that the blessing of God so far accompanied my preaching, that more than one amongst you may have been induced in his private devotions to pour forth his heart to the Almighty, that he might be pleased to avert the visitation of his anger from amongst us. Unworthy as I am, and as all of us must be, to offer any prayer but for the pardon of our several offences, I have

never ceased, night and morning, from that hour unto the present moment, to address my supplications to God, that he would graciously condescend to spare the flock committed to my charge, and that the plague might be turned aside from my parishioners. And now I say unto you rejoice in the Lord, for He has heard the voice of our supplications. The pestilence has passed from the multitude of our fellow-countrymen, and not a hair has fallen by it in this congregation. The Almighty has over-shadowed us with His protection, and no evil has come near our dwellings. Rejoice then in humility, and be exceeding glad of his deliverance; but let us rejoice as men sensible of our unworthiness, as feeling to our shame and confusion that we are utterly undeserving of the mercy He has vouchsafed to us, and that, if He has favourably accepted the prayers which we have offered to Him, here amidst the congregation, or in the secluded hours of our domestic retirement, we have obtained a respite from His forbearance, not through our own merits, but because, as we are told in scripture, He will have mercy on whom He will have mercy, and He will shew compassion on whom He will shew compassion. Not however that the just and perfect Being, who inhabits eternity, can be actuated by the capricious motives which influence the frail determinations of humanity, but because "His judgments are unsearchable, and His ways past finding out; for who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been His counsellor?" [Rom. ii. 32.] Great, we know, has been the power of supplication by those who walked according to the commandments of God to hold back His immediate vengeance even from the chief of sinners, and, as in ancient times

He spake concerning the guilty town which was destroyed by fire and brimstone from heaven, "If I find ten righteous men in the city, I will spare the place for their sakes," so it may have been that the Almighty has accepted the petition of those amongst us, who were striving to become His children by the adoption of grace, and has granted on their account a respite to the transgressions of their brethren, if so be that they may repent also and be forgiven. But let not any one, however fervent in faith, however fruitful in the works of righteousness, presume for one instant to imagine that he was worthy to receive the forgiveness of the Almighty, still less to obtain forbearance for the iniquities of others; for we are all sinful and unprofitable servants, and we should remember that the day is far spent, and that we must work out our salvation in fear and trembling. Let our rejoicing, therefore, be of such a character that it may not lead us to esteem lightly the anger of God, or to sin, as the apostle says, in order that grace may abound. "Rejoice," he saith, [Rom. xii. 12.] "in hope, patient in tribulation, continuing instant in prayer." I call upon you this day, my brethren, to rejoice in the mercy of our Creator; and praise and glory be to His Almighty name! that He has permitted me to deliver to you this exhortation, and that He has spared you to render thanks with me in the house of prayer; that He did not cut us off in the hour of this visitation, or send the destroyer upon our houses and families. But if it had been otherwise, if in his infinite wisdom He had thought fit to humble us even to the dust, if, like the inhabitants of other places which have felt the right hand of his vengeance, we had been here assembled on this day in

the garb of mourning, the meagre remnant of a depopulated hamlet, surrounded by the graves of those who had been snatched from amongst us in the pride of life, and the high enjoyment of levity and thoughtlessness, would it have been my duty to have addressed to you any different exhortations? No, my friends, even in the midst of anguish, in sorrow and tribulation, I should have said to you in the words of the text, "Rejoice in the Lord alway, and again I say, rejoice!" The tone of my address might have been tempered by the feelings of humanity, the tongue might have faltered under the afflictions that had been undergone, but amidst tears I should have told you to rejoice in the Almighty, to lift up the feeble voice unto the throne of our deliverance, and bless the eternal Author of good even for the scourge which He had sent upon His people; knowing this by the firm assurance of Him, whose nature is incompatible with falsehood, that all things work together for our good, and that, whether His bounty descends to earth in the genial showers which awaken vegetation and fertility for our sustenance, or His terrors be manifested to us by the hurricane and the pestilence, His faithfulness shall endure for ever, and the salvation which He has offered to His people, is built upon a rock, which can be affected by no calamities, no afflictions of this world, not even the desolation of every thing that we love, of all that has made the charm and comfort of our present existence. And, if such be the certain assurance of the Gospel, have we not cause with the apostle to rejoice alway, whether the things that surround us may seem for the present joyous, or rather grievous, hard, and difficult to be endured, not as men without hope, but having a

sure reason for the satisfaction with which we anticipate futurity! But let me call most earnestly to your recollection, that as we should have had cause to rejoice amidst tribulation, so we have now equal cause to tremble amidst our rejoicing. Let me pray you to consider, whether the removal of that disease from our countrymen, on account of which we have this day offered our thanksgiving to God, is to us a blessing or a curse. It will depend entirely on the manner in which we use the mercy of our Creator; and on the effects produced upon us by the late visitation of His anger, and our own deliverance from its infliction. The Psalmist said, "Lord, it is good for me to have been afflicted, that I may keep thy statutes." And have we reaped from this manifestation of the power of God, from this affliction which through His benignity has been turned away from our dwellings, that advantage which the Psalmist derived from the days of his adversity? Has a due reformation been worked in our society? Has there been no rioting in our streets, no gambling and drunkenness within our thresholds? Have we been guilty of no incontinence and fraud? Has the name of the Lord been uttered only with reverence? Have the sabbaths been no longer polluted by the reveller and blasphemer? Have we become a people zealous of good works, and broken off all fellowship with the deeds of darkness, and the flattering contamination of sin? Are we living in charity with all men, kind and affectionate towards our neighbours, judging no man, but shaping our conduct according to the commandments of God and the example of our Redeemer? Would that I could say, that such blessed effects have been wrought amongst us by the terrors and

mercy of the Lord! But, if such fruits have not been produced, ought we not to lay it seriously to our hearts, that we are not merely rendering the gracious mercy of our heavenly Father of no avail for our happiness, but are rather making it a curse and a condemnation. If there be some amongst you, whose conduct has not been rectified, whose hearts have not been improved by the dangers they so lately apprehended, O let them now unite with me in fervent thanksgiving to God, that he has spared them yet awhile in order that they may repent. Pray to Him even that he may visit you with calamity, if so only you can be weaned from the entanglements of sin, and wrested from everlasting destruction; pray to Him for those ills which endure only for a season, and will with the grace of God and the assistance of His Holy Spirit make you meet and fitted for a happy and glorious resurrection, and remember that he, who can bless the Lord for the afflictions which He has been pleased to send upon him, is not far from the kingdom of God. If there be others in your number, who have been deeply impressed with the knowledge that the tremendous arm, which in one night smote all the first-born of Egypt, has been stretched over the land of our nativity; that the same all-merciful Protector, who forbade him to pass between the door-posts of the Israelites, which were smeared with the blood of the atonement, has averted him from these our habitations; if under such a persuasion they have turned in the season of alarm unto the God of their salvation, if they have considered with a more willing heart the promises and threatenings of the Gospel, and felt a new spirit within them, let me entreat them not to fall away from the Lord their God in the

hour of rejoicing, and become hardened in the thanklessness of security; let me entreat them not to suffer the good, which is implanted within them, to be like the seed which fell on stony places, where it might spring up and endure for a season, but never bear fruit unto eternal life. And permit me to remind all of you, that this congregation has been favoured with a deliverance exceeding the hopes of the most sanguine; that God has dealt with us, not according to our deserts, but according to the multitude and infinity of His mercies; but that whether that deliverance and those mercies shall bring us to the enjoyment of everlasting felicity, or shall be recorded in the books as an aggravation of our transgressions, depends upon the use which we shall make of our present security; and may the Holy Spirit, who is ever nigh unto those that seek Him, give you grace, to walk from henceforth according to the will of the Almighty, with fervent thankfulness for the salvation He has provided for us, and a firm reliance on the atonement of our Redeemer.

SERMON VI.

Preached in the Collegiate Church, Manchester, July 12th, 1840.—(*The greater part of this Sermon having been printed from short-hand reports in the Newspapers, it seems best to publish it entire.*)

The trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed.—1 Cor. xv. 52.

There is nothing in the language of Scripture, however magnificent in many of its passages, there is nothing

that can enter the imagination of man, more awfully sublime, than the words in which the Apostle has described the resurrection of the dead. All other scenes which have ever been witnessed by the sons of men, all other events of which the most ardent fancy can picture to itself the possibility, sink into absolute insignificancy, when compared with the tremendous circumstance of the second and last advent of our Saviour; the formidable and instantaneous summons which shall burst upon the living and the dead. "We shall not all sleep," says the Apostle, "but we shall be changed; in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump; for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised up incorruptible, and we shall be changed." All mankind will not be at that period in their graves. It will come upon a thoughtless, and perhaps a vicious, generation. The summons for this marvellous change in ourselves and the countless millions of our fellow creatures, who shall have existed from the creation of the world unto that fearful moment, will be sudden and instantaneous. The blast of the trumpet of a destroying army might well startle all the inhabitants of this populous city from their peaceable and confiding slumbers; but figure to yourselves the summons of that dreadful trumpet, which shall be heard at the same instant at the remotest extremities of the world: which shall ring through the vault of heaven, high above the loftiest mountains of the earth, and shall penetrate the deepest obscurity of the grave. It will pierce it with a force, that shall break the sleep of those who have lain in darkness and the shadow of death for thousands of years; that shall compel their souls in the twinkling of an eye to rise again, from the

oblivion in which they have been buried, and to put on the clothing of immortality, whether for a blessing, or for a curse. And what will be the terror of that summons, to those who shall be still among the living! The sower and the reaper, the monarch and the slave, will stand amongst the dead of every generation, and like them they shall be changed in an instant. The dead shall be raised incorruptible, and the living shall be like unto them. In what manner our bodily figure shall be changed, it is not given to us to understand; but we know that we shall be no longer subject to dissolution or decay. This corruption must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality; and whether we shall be changed, unto the punishment of our offences, or unto the glory that shall be revealed, there will be no reverse hereafter to the blessed, and no escape for the condemned. Our Saviour tells us, that the day of judgment will come suddenly, as a thief in the night. When that tremendous hour will overtake us, is known only to the Almighty. We are told that it will come instantaneously, upon the quick and the dead, but we have no means of ascertaining when it will be accomplished. It will perhaps find as many souls of men, as are now living upon the earth, (perhaps an infinitely greater number) spending the short term of their mortality, the precious day-beam in which they might work out their salvation, *as* reckless of their peril, *as* blind to their eternal welfare, as the greater part of this present generation. It will surprise them engaged in a variety of occupations or amusements; toiling in the sweat of their brow, or pursuing the vanity of pleasures; hoarding up the treasures of covetousness, or lavishing the wealth of

prodigality; yearning after the deceitful visions of ambition, or revelling in the fulness of brief authority; straining after every earthly object, and inattentive to the great prospects of immortality. They will probably be as little apprehensive of the summons which in the next instant will startle them from their security, as the congregation which I am now addressing; as the more pious who are assembled here to pray unto their Maker and hear the exposition of his word, and the thoughtless number of your fellow-townsmen, who are at this moment engaged in their worldly concerns, as little mindful of the Almighty, as of their own everlasting interests; "untouched by the grace of heaven; unconscious of the work of salvation, unthankful for the mercies vouchsafed to them." What will be their feelings and their thoughts, when the trumpet shall speak that summons, which shall be spoken once and for ever! There will be no refuge, nothing to screen them from the justice of the Most High. And which of you will assert, that at this very moment while I am speaking to you, that summons may not be about to burst upon this assembly; and the earth, so beautiful, to be shrivelled by the breath of His displeasure; that the roof of this venerable building will not be riven at the next instant by the blast of the last trumpet, and the dead of a thousand generations stand around us, in the presence of the majesty of Christ? Do you believe the Scriptures? Do you know that Christ has said, that that fearful day will come as a thief on the unsuspicious? and, because it has not yet overtaken us, do you presume to make sure that in our days it will not be accomplished? You would do better to accustom yourselves to the expectation of that call: to

live as if you knew the hour of your visitation. Figure to yourselves the terrible blast of the last trumpet; the majesty of Christ at His appearing; the dead risen from their graves, and our bodies changed to immortality; the voice, that will call upon all and each of us, "Arise, and be ye weighed in the balances." Bring that fearful moment to your imaginations, and consider whether you are prepared for the peremptory examination: whether you can hope to stand up in that great day of the Lord and not be found wanting. I am not setting before you any wild or improbable fancies; I am not suggesting to you incredible, or even uncertain, circumstances. There is nothing figurative in this picture, however awful. It is plain and sober reality; it is that which, if you believe the revealed word of God, you know that you *must* all one day witness, whether it shiver the roof of this building or the grave-stones of your sepulchres: whether it startle you from the thoughtlessness of your mortal existence, or from the slumber of the dead. If you were convinced that the terrors of the Lord would be certainly revealed to us before the moment of separating ourselves from this congregation and returning to our respective hearths, with what confusion would you turn your thoughts to the recollection of your manifold offences; how ardently would you desire to purge yourselves from all your iniquities. You are all daily, hourly, I may say every moment, sinning against the Lord; you are lulling yourselves with vain excuses for your misdeeds, and not striving to cast the abomination from you. You represent to yourselves, that some long and undefined period must elapse before the time of that fearful summons, that formidable and certain judgment. Let me entreat you

to give the most serious consideration to this important subject. What matters it to any one of you, whether he shall this day witness the appearance of Christ in the glory and power of his second advent, or be snatched by the angel of death from amongst this congregation, to lie in the sleep of the grave till awakened by the call of his messenger. The scene of your actions will be equally closed. The cup of your transgressions as full; the deeds, the words, the thoughts, of your life as irreversibly registered. It would be of no importance to any one of us, whether he be stricken by death at the moment of closing his eyes for this night's slumber, or at the instant of awakening from it. The interval would afford little for his gratification, nothing for his advantage; at the most, the vision of a dream. And so it is with the day of judgment. The hour of working our salvation will be past; the books will be closed; the interval, however long it may be between death and judgment, will yield nothing for our security, will add nothing to our hopes, will offer no opportunity of amendment, and furnish no circumstances for our justification. It matters not therefore whether this day our souls be required of us, or this day we be called to render the account of our transgressions; the same transactions will be recorded, and the same consequences will necessarily ensue. I do not place these things before your consideration for the purpose of appalling the weak-minded. If the manifestation of the Almighty cannot be avoided, let us see whether there are any means under the grace of God of meeting it without confusion and dismay. It is indeed a prospect full of terror for the hardened transgressor of the commandments, for the presumptuous who fancy

themselves secure in their imagined righteousness; but, if we look upon it with the eye of faith, and christian humility, we shall draw from it ample reasons for consolation and encouragement. We cannot rely upon the justification of our goodness when the secrets of all hearts, shall be disclosed, and the inward springs discovered, which have influenced our actions, and all the worldly views shall be brought to light, which have been lurking at the bottom of our hearts, almost unsuspected by ourselves, and have rendered odious in the sight of the Almighty those actions which may have seemed most disinterested and excellent to our short-sighted fellow-creatures. We cannot be saved by our works; or stand before our judge in the consciousness of our own perfection; we cannot even wash away our offences by the tears of unavailing and unprofitable sorrow. But the Almighty in his mercy has provided a way of salvation, through faith in our blessed Saviour, by which the humble and contrite sinner may enter into everlasting life. The proud cannot tread it; the self-sufficient will find it closed against them; and the mighty of this world will not be able to force their passage. The careless, the indolent, the unbelieving, will never penetrate it. It is not the clothing of your own innocence or merits that can qualify you for admission into the kingdom of God; it is the garment of humility, of repentance for your misdeeds, of conscious shame for your unworthiness, of ardent faith in the promises of our Saviour, of zealous and daily exertion to improve in every Christian grace, to manifest your faith by progress in good works, in love to God, in charity to your neighbours, in gratitude to your Redeemer. The lesson which we ought to impress

upon our understandings is the necessity of living always, as if the present moment was to be the last, not only of our mortal existence, but of the period which must elapse before our final judgment; as if the last advent of our Saviour was at hand, and the sound of the trump about to summon us before his tribunal. If we accustom ourselves to keep this view before our thoughts, we shall find it full of consolation, and quickening with comfort and encouragement. You cannot envisage it without faith in your blessed Redeemer, who is destined to be your just and impartial, but at the same time your compassionate, judge. You cannot envisage it, and persevere in the stubbornness of sin. You cannot contemplate it without humility, which is the foundation of every Christian virtue, and the source of the only reasonable hope. You cannot turn your mind to it without repentance for your errors, without anxiety to keep the commandments, and to testify your faith by the works of righteousness. The more stedfastly you fix your thoughts upon this great and engrossing subject, he more certain you will be of treading the narrow way to everlasting happiness. It is not therefore an appalling prospect to the meek-hearted, but full of blessedness. I hope, I trust, that there are some amongst you, who have accustomed themselves to look upon it in this light; who could pray with sincerity to the Lord, that he would be pleased to hasten his kingdom; who, if their souls were required from them this night, and their eternal Judge should appear in his majesty, would be able to abide his countenance through humble confidence in his promises; to exclaim, "Lord, we have kept the faith; we have striven against the frailty of the flesh. We are

heavy laden, but unto thee, O Lord, we come for relief from our transgressions. Thou art our salvation, and we know in whom we have believed." Return then to your several homes with gratitude to Christ Jesus; with faith in His promises; with a determination to shew forth that faith by the fruit of good works (without which it will be altogether unavailing for your salvation), and by a daily improvement in obedience and in every Christian grace. Is any one of you at open variance with his neighbour? Let him hasten to be reconciled. Does he bear a secret grudge against him? Let him cast away all malice from his heart. Has any one amongst you an evil tongue, that condemns his neighbour and speaks despitefully of him? Let him remember that it is God that trieth the hearts; that his own judgments are full of error and uncertainty. Let him think of his own unworthiness, and learn forbearance towards the faults of others, and see rather to amend the sinfulness of his own courses. Is there one amongst you, who is cumbered with the cares of this world, fretful for the advancement of himself and his family in wealth and importance? Is there one who is wedded to the lusts of the flesh, who is misguided by the allurements of transitory pleasures to the danger of his immortal soul? O let him turn to a truer view of the real objects of life! Let him recollect how quickly all these things must pass away! how soon at least they must be torn from him! Consider that they will avail nothing in the hour of death, or in the day of judgment. You are now engrossed by the transient things of this present life, but the time must come, and perhaps speedily, when you must enter on the prospects of eternity. — Are there some amongst you, who are

carried away by the excitement of party spirit, to look with an evil eye on those who differ from them in opinion concerning the affairs of this world? O cast that leaven out of your hearts. Remember that the opinion of every one of us, if weighed in the balances of the Almighty, would be found grievously deficient. Let us mistrust our own imagined wisdom, recollecting that one only is incapable of error. Let us look mildly on the principles and behaviour of our brethren, while we strive so to fashion our own conduct that we may not fall short of the promises. Are there others who are influenced by a party spirit in religion? Let them consider, that it is the duty of a Christian to bear with and not to offend the tender conscience of his brethren; and that, while they are zealous to keep the faith and act correctly, they should not exaggerate the differences that may exist between them in interpreting the word of God, but meet them rather with the temper of conciliation and charity. Are there any on the contrary who do not regularly attend this established place of worship, who, without any decided conscientious objection to the pure doctrine which is taught within these walls, are apt to separate themselves from the congregation? Let me entreat them to recollect that such a secession is hurtful, not only to their own souls, but to the great interests of religion. It is often the offspring of a secret pride, of a notion that we are wiser and better than the community, which is quite at variance with the humility of a true Christian. It is requisite indeed above all things to detach ourselves from any impure and idolatrous worship, repugnant to the injunctions and institutions of God; but it is not good to estrange ourselves from the established Church

of our country on account of any leaning to a particular form of discipline, or mode of worship, or of speculative disagreement on points of mysterious difficulty. Let me entreat you not to follow those who would entice you from the Church, without cautiously trying the spirits, whether they be of God. Deceive yourselves not into a belief that those differences are irreconcilable disagreements of conscience, in which the conscience has no real part, but which may arise from self-conceit, from deference to some indiscreet or interested guide, from a spirit of party, from a desire of evincing ourselves to be more clear-sighted in religion than the mass of the nation. Christ is one and undivided, and every man who becomes a leader of divisions in the church of Christ, or even a humble follower of such teachers, is against the Spirit of his Redeemer, of that great and blessed Shepherd who has but one fold into which he would gather all his disciples and overshadow them with his protection in brotherly love and unity. If I am right in pressing on your consideration this view of the singleness which should exist in the church of Christ, and of the great injury which arises from suffering ourselves to be carried about "by various winds of doctrine by the sleight of man," it must be evident that each and every one of us has a great interest in the sufficiency and well-being of those, through whose regulated ministration they receive the consolations of the Gospel. There was hypocrisy and treason even amongst the chosen Apostles of our Lord, and it cannot be that good should exist unmixed with evil in this perishable world: but I may truly say that in looking round the body which has been consecrated to that office by the religious establishment of our country,

the poor man will find his best friend, whether in destitution of earthly means or under the visitations of affliction, whether troubled by religious doubts or goaded by the admonitions of conscience. It is therefore not only from a general view of the brotherly love which should exist amongst all Christians, not only from the importance of that charitable disposition without which the highest gifts of the Spirit are unavailing for our salvation, that I would ask to be permitted to recommend to your special favour the application, which, as I am informed, is this day made to your benevolence on behalf of the widows and orphans of the poorer clergy of this diocese. Those who are bereaved of a husband's love and protection, those who have lost in early youth the support and guide of their tender years, will never in any congregation of my fellow-countrymen and fellow-Christians appeal in vain to their humanity; but the bereaved relicts of those who have been our conductors to the fountain of holy truth, who have taught us to enter on that path which alone can lead us to substantial and eternal happiness, who strengthened us in our progress by their solicitude and advice, who whenever opportunities presented themselves have cheered us under our troubles and aided us under our difficulties, who (labouring in the vineyard of our Lord with very scanty and inadequate means for the support or advancement of their own families,) have striven, by the exertion of all the talents committed to them by God, to make that awful day when Christ shall appear in his Majesty, a day to us of hope, of comfort, of blessedness,—the destitute relicts (I say) of such our best earthly friends have surely a claim on our gratitude as well as our generosity. It matters little in that respect

whether such comfort and advice has been administered to each of you personally for his own advantage; you may perhaps have less needed it than others, you may have turned away from it in thoughtlessness or self-conceit; you may have been overlooked amongst the multitude that thirsted after the word of God; but remember that, according to the saying of our blessed Saviour, "inasmuch as they have done it unto the least of these your brethren, they have done it unto you." Suffer not the orphan children of those who have stood between the wrath of God and the congregation of ourselves and our sinful fellow-countrymen, appeasing Him with prayer and leading the stubborn-hearted to repentance, faith, and obedience, suffer them not to languish in destitution, in the want of a holy education and of the means of entering upon a godly and industrious life. Suffer not their widows to sink under the pressure of indigence, and see their famishing little ones cast away upon the bleak places of mortality. Ye, that are affluent give that which you may remember with satisfaction if the day of adversity shall visit you; ye, that are poor in the goods of this world, give the small mite of your poverty, and it will be great in the eye of your Father which is in heaven.

And may the God of mercy unite you all in kindness and charitable feelings to each other; may He give you grace to embrace the truth as it is in Jesus, to cling to it with unshaken faith, to persevere in it with humility, to shew it forth as a shining light to your fellow-creatures, by your abundance in good works, your singleness of heart, your rejection of all malice, your stedfast adherence to the one great object of our mortal being! and may the last advent of our Saviour (whenever it shall be

accomplished) instead of overwhelming us with terror and confusion, be unto us all and to the sincere Christian of every country and denomination, a gracious summons to the inheritance of everlasting joy. Now, &c.

SERMON VIII.

Preached before the Members of the Manchester district of the Manchester Unity of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, in St. Matthew's Church, Manchester, on Easter Monday, April 12, 1841, and printed by them.

Now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity.—1 Cor. xiii. 13.

This memorable assertion, deliberately made by Saint Paul, is rather startling to the true Christian, who has not deeply considered its import; and it may have been wrested to their own destruction by many unbelievers, who have found in it an apparent encouragement, to think they could easily compound with God for their want of faith, by alms-giving and attention to the necessities of the poor. But such is not the meaning of the text. The Corinthians were, as the Apostle says in the next chapter, "zealous of spiritual gifts," over-anxious to obtain the marvellous faculty of prophesying and speaking in unknown tongues which was imparted to the first Christians; and he says, "when ye come together every one of you hath a doctrine, a tongue, a revelation, an interpretation," and finding it necessary to reprove their presumption, he adds, "If any man thinks himself to be

a prophet or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord." Conceiving it therefore expedient to rebuke this spirit of excessive enthusiasm and of seeking after self-exaltation, he says, "Covet earnestly the best gifts: and yet I shew you a more excellent way;" and he adds, that if he had in the most extraordinary degree all the gifts after which they were striving, and had not charity, he should be as nothing. He labours thus to draw them back from the unsubstantial holiness of enthusiastic self-sufficiency to the rational exercise of Christian charity in all its branches, and the immeasurable good which proceeds from it. St. Paul had no disposition to disparage or undervalue the efficacy of saving faith. He says to the Romans (v. 1.) "being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ," and "we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand;" and to the Ephesians he writes, (ii. 8.) "by grace are ye saved through faith." The epistles of St. Paul agree with the general tenor of Scripture, and the express assertion of our Saviour, that faith in Him is the only ground-work of salvation. If, therefore, such is the importance of faith in Christ Jesus that it is the one thing needful to salvation, how is it that St. Paul in the text puts hope upon an equality with it, and adds that charity excels them both! It must be observed, that he says faith, hope, charity, *these three;* implying thereby, that there was an intimate connexion between them, which made them paramount to all other acquirements. The connexion between faith and hope was frequently set forth by him. To the Romans (v. 1.) he says, "we have access by faith into this grace, and rejoice in hope of the

glory of God." To the Colossians (i. 23.) "Continue in the faith grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the hope of the Gospel which ye have heard." This hope he calls in the same chapter "the hope of glory."

It is evident, that if we have not a deep-seated and well-grounded hope of attaining through Christ our Saviour the glory revealed to us, (as an inheritance by faith in Him, when after the close of our earthly pilgrimage, we shall enter into immortality) our faith in Him must be dead and inefficient. We cannot really have confidence in Jesus Christ, if we do hope to lay hold of His promises. If we have not that expectation, our faith is merely a vain belief that He is or exists, but not a belief that He is true to purpose what He promises and all-powerful to accomplish what He purposes. The hope of the Gospel, if not built on faith, would be only a vague and fleeting imagination; a wistful desire aspiring to some great and marvellous exaltation; and faith, if not productive of the hope of glory, would be nothing but a useless and unprofitable reliance, like the belief of any historical tradition. They are therefore most advisedly coupled together; faith being the ground-work, and hope the edifice without which the foundation would be of no use. If we extend our view a little further, we shall see that charity is in fact the crowning work of adorning, and furnishing with every thing that is most desirable for man, the building of hope which has been raised upon this support; and that, without that final accomplishment, neither the ground-work, nor the superstructure, would be applicable to his advantage. We cannot be too often reminded of the scriptural assertion, that "faith

without works is dead." It is not possible to believe firmly the truth of the inestimable promise of our Redeemer, an eternity of glory and happiness, (compared with which the short period of our abiding here and the motley troubles with which the most prosperous life of man is chequered sink into absolute insignificance) without ardently desiring to attain its enjoyment; but, if we believe in Him, we know that we can only attain it by strict obedience to His law; therefore, if we do not obey Him, the reason must be, that we do not put implicit faith in Him ; we have not sufficient confidence in His truth, to turn aside from the evil things which seduce our attention by their immediate presence before our eyes.

Charity, as described by the Apostle, is not confined to alms-giving, but extends to every possible branch of kindness, benevolence, and forbearance to our fellow-creatures; it is, in fact, the perfection of human conduct with relation to them ; the complete summary of good works. If, therefore, "faith without good works is dead," faith without charity is dead. For that reason the Apostle well says, that, "if he had faith that could move mountains, and had not charity, he should be as nothing." His faith would be dead and useless to him, for it would not produce the hope of glory.

Here then we see, why these three are united together, and why the greatest of them is charity. Faith, without charity, is like the shell without the kernel, and the kernel is the most valuable. Certainly the best works that man can perform, if they do not spring from reliance on Jesus Christ and are not done through a desire to conform with His holy will, are not acceptable in the sight of God, and will not be serviceable at the tribunal of

Christ to counterbalance our manifold and great offences; but still, whether they avail us hereafter or not, kindness, benevolence, and forbearance to our fellow-creatures are things intrinsically good, and are beneficial to others; but faith, which does not produce the good works of charity, is like the empty husk, useless to ourselves and to others. And so it is with Gospel hope; if it is not accompanied by charity, it is a false hope; it will never lead the person, who entertains it, to the everlasting glory at which he aims, but will be found to partake of the emptiness of a bubble.

Charity, whether it be such as will avail a Christian, proceeding from a pious and humble dependance on the will of God and an ardent desire to promote its objects; or whether it be merely the apparent virtue of a heathen, based upon vain-glory and ostentation or derived from the ameliorating habits of education, has in itself some peculiar worth, and diffuses around it gladness of heart, mutual assistance, gentler feelings, and a disposition to nurture all the graces that should adorn a Christian. Therefore is it the greatest of the three, which must however be intimately united, in order to work our eternal welfare; whereas barren faith and uncharitable hope produce no temporal good of any kind to others, and are so far from assisting us to attain the kingdom of God, that, by filling us with self-sufficiency and evil pride, they make us odious in His sight and injurious to our fellow-mortals.

Such being the excellency of true Christian charity, as that which gives vitality to faith and rational existence to the hope of glory, it is very necessary that we search the Scriptures to ascertain exactly what it is.

It is not solely the giving alms; for the Apostle says, at the 3rd verse, that he might give all his living to the poor without being charitable: he might have faith in God even to the extent of undergoing martyrdom for the word's sake, and not be charitable; and his alms-giving and his martyrdom would be of no avail. He then proceeds to tell us what are the fruits of charity, by which we may truly recognize it. "Charity," he says, "suffereth long and is kind;" the word, which is rendered suffereth long, means is patient and slow in judging and disposed to mildness. Charity envieth not, vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up; does not behave unseemly and strive for its own advantage; it is not easily provoked and thinketh no evil, that is to say, does not presume that the intentions of others are evil; rejoices not in injustice, but in truth; that is to say, it does not take to itself a malignant pleasure in exposing the injustice of its neighbours, although it delights in the intrinsic excellence of truth, and will in no ways swerve from it. That, which the Apostle adds to this, requires a little more consideration to understand it properly. "Charity beareth" or covereth "all things," (for the word he uses will admit either sense) "believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." To comprehend this rightly we must recollect that charity is a temper of mind in regard to our conduct to our fellow-creatures.

Duly considering the nature of the three great endowments, faith, hope, and charity, we shall see that faith is our temper of mind towards God, hope our temper of mind as regards ourselves, and charity as regards the rest of God's animated creation. The Apostle, in describing the qualities of charity, is speaking of qualities that

affect others and not ourselves only. Therefore, when he says that charity believeth and hopeth all things, he does not allude to things which regard ourselves; he does not mean anything so preposterous as to assert that injudicious and ungrounded credulity is a necessary ingredient of that great virtue; or that an absurd and unauthorized expectation of attaining things which the Almighty has not designed for us can in any manner proceed from it; but, following up that which he had already expressed in more than one form of words, that charity is patient in judging, disposed to mildness, not easily provoked, not willing to think ill of others, not delighting in the discovery of injustice though delighting in truth, he adds, that it has a general disposition to bear with or cover and excuse the defects of others, a prevailing desire to believe the best and to hope the best concerning them, and a never-failing inclination to endure and bear with the infirmities of its frail and imperfect fellow-creatures. By believing and hoping all things, we must therefore not conclude that the Apostle meant, that charity should believe things that are disproved, or hope things that are irrational; but that it should not judge with harshness and prejudice, entertaining rather a general inclination to believe and to hope all things that may with propriety be believed and hoped in extenuation of the apparent failings or misconduct of others, and recollecting how short-sighted and erroneous are the clearest views of human wisdom, and how liable its best actions to envy and misinterpretation. The whole resolves itself into the comprehensive maxim, that in thought, word, and deed, we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us; and it is perhaps the most blessed

amongst God's manifold mercies to the weakness and ignorance of mankind, that He has given us an internal adviser, who, if consulted with sincerity and humbleness, will always direct us infallibly to the paths of righteousness and the ways of salvation; and it is by wilfully resisting and quenching the suggestions of the Holy Spirit within him, that man goes blindfold and perversely into destruction.

It is to be presumed that most, if not all of those whom I am addressing, are assembled here professing sentiments of brotherly kindness towards each other, and desirous of testifying a spirit of more extended benevolence by a collection in aid of the temporal and spiritual wants of those who are not immediately associated with them, though connected by the general link of humanity and still more nearly as inhabitants of the same vicinity. It cannot fail to be gratifying to me, to lend my humble encouragement, as a Minister of the Gospel, to the furtherance of such charitable and truly Christian purposes, at the same time that I have an opportunity of bearing public testimony to the excellence of the more direct and immediate objects of your institution. Not the least interesting part of this morning's procession has been a body, as I understand, of about 200 orphans, whom the funds of the Society have rescued from the destitution into which they would otherwise have fallen after the loss of their natural and dear protectors. I hope that they are present in this church, and that they have come into the house of God, with a deep and lively sense of His great mercy in disposing the hearts of their fellow-countrymen to those sentiments of Christian charity and mutual kindness, by which they are now profiting;

and that, when they come to years of discretion, and are able by industrious exertions to raise themselves in their proper sphere of usefulness, they will remember from what quarter the Almighty sent them help in the hour of their desolation, and adhere to the blessed principles of Christian charity which have thus descended to them from their parents.

There is one point however, my brethren, concerning which, addressing you from the pulpit, I should not be faithful to the ministry, if I expressed myself in the deceitful language of praise. It will probably not be the first time, that you have heard remarks made upon the singularity of the name you assume, and you may perhaps think it a sufficient answer to all such observations to say, that the name matters little, if the objects of the association and the conduct of the members therein are unexceptionable. I must however be permitted to say, that, fully appreciating the purity of your intentions and the usefulness of your establishment, I cannot acquiesce in the perfect sufficiency of that reply. If a stranger were to read on the sign of a house of reception, that it was the resort of odd characters, would the information induce him to enter, or rather to pass on to a less questionable place of repose? Would it be perfectly satisfactory to hear that, notwithstanding that announcement to the public, in fact it only accommodated respectable and well-conducted travellers? I entreat you to consider this point seriously. You are, as I understand, 11,000 souls in Manchester and Salford; and it would be easy for you to resolve, that (except in immediate intercourse [illegible] central board of the association) your unity [illegible] bear the title of Brotherly Fellows or some other

equally respectable, and to recommend its adoption to other unities throughout the kingdom. Recollect what are the meanings assigned to the name which it is your pleasure to bear. In our best work of reference, odd is explained to mean uneven, uncouth, extraordinary and not like others in a sense of contempt or dislike; strange, unaccountable, fantastical, unlucky, unlikely in appearance, and, lastly, improper. Is it consistent with the self-respect which tends very much to keep mankind in the ways of righteousness, to place on your own heads a title, which seems thus to set public opinion at nought, and which, in the usual acceptation of the word, declares you to be that which you certainly are not, and which you would be very sorry to be really considered? Observe, that the word has never been used to represent difference from others in a praiseworthy sense, but always implies a certain degree of disparagement and reproach. Do you mean on the other hand, my brethren, to give the word a sense it has never borne, and to insinuate that the oddity you profess is difference from the rest of mankind in more pious, charitable, and excellent conduct? If that is the secret meaning, I should be under the necessity of declaring, that such pretensions would be inconsistent with the humble spirit of Christianity, and of that charity which is greater than faith and hope, which is the bond of peace and of your own union, and which ought to connect all mankind in a disposition to think lowly of themselves and to hope the best of each other. I have heard it asserted that the name is of great antiquity and given to the original associates by a heathen emperor; an assertion which probably has no foundation, but, if true, furnishes an

additional reason for anxiously hoping that, when you come together for your next anniversary, you may assemble under an improved denomination, which may be liable to no objection, and may tend to conciliate, rather than alienate, those who have every disposition to look with the most favourable eye on your society.

My brethren, (brotherly fellows I hope I may venture without offence to call you) I trust that this suggestion will be accepted, as it is meant, in the spirit of sincere kindness and as arising out of a true desire to see your association stand upon a footing which should not leave it open to any possible reproach, productive as it is of so much good, and based upon views of substantial charity and of orderly submission to those who are placed in authority over us; and in truth having nothing in its constitution either odd or fantastical, nothing that could justify any man in throwing such an imputation on you, but embracing practically the great Christian principles of glory to God on high, peace on earth, and good-will towards men. Too much commendation cannot be given to the feeling of universal charity you have manifested in occupying the day of your principal celebration with a collection for benevolent purposes extending beyond the pale of your own association, seeing that your regulations from the nature of your constitution, confine its immediate benefits to the several individuals who are members of your extensive body. It is by such acts of enlarged beneficence as are this day contemplated, applicable to the spiritual as well as the bodily wants of your fellow-subjects, that you are able to prove yourselves to be actuated by that genuine spirit of Christian charity, which is the most perfect quality that can adorn mankind. Upon the

last occasion of the kind yon afforded a rich fund of valuable assistance to very excellent establishments, and those, to which it is now proposed to contribute pecuniary support, are in every way deserving of the most zealous and liberal co-operation. Those persons, who, in the exercise of true Gospel charity, contribute unostentatiously to relieve the sufferings of their sick and languishing fellow-creatures, those who strew the bed of comfort for the desolate female in the day of her sorrow and travail, will certainly not be forgotten at the resurrection of the dead. I have ventured to suggest, that it might not be inconsistent with the views of your Society, to extend your encouragement also to the excellent Penitentiary, by which the lost are raised from the prostration of their guilty courses to a new perception of godliness, and a fresh admission, through repentance and reformation, to the forsaken hope of immortal glory. There is ample cause to rejoice in the extension of the interest of so large a body of the well-intentioned disciples of our Saviour to the merciful principle of striving to redeem the fallen and rescue the wicked from the contamination by which they are surrounded; and it is peculiarly desirable that a charitable association, like that to which you belong, should thus demonstrate to the public, that its views are not merely directed to temporal wants and worldly deficiencies, but extend to those mightier concerns which will endure for everlasting.

May the blessing of the Almighty rest upon your Society! and under His grace and protection, without which nothing is good, nothing is holy, may it continue to bring comfort to the bed of sickness, and raise the bereaved from despondency and want! May its benevolent

influence spread wider amongst your neighbours and unite you all in the true faith of Christ Jesus, productive of righteous life, in the well-grounded hope of immortal glory, and in that evangelical charity, which is greatest amongst the holy qualifications that are essential to our future entrance into everlasting glory.

SERMON IX.

Preached in the Collegiate Church at Manchester, May 28, 1841, at the Bishop of Chester's Visitation, and published at the request of the Bishop and Clergy assembled there

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Foolish and unlearned questions avoid, knowing that they do gender strifes; and the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves.—2 TIMOTHY, *c.* 2, *v.* 23, 24, and part of 25.

I WOULD that the duty of preaching this day the word of God, to those who are well qualified to teach it to others, had fallen to the lot of some one amongst yourselves, my Christian neighbours and fellow workers in the vineyard of Christ, and that I had the gratification and advantage of being a listener to the words of sound doctrine, instead of the unsatisfactory office of setting them forth to a learned congregation; for I feel that the position I occupy, as the local head of so large a body of clergy, may be thought to give some adsciticious importance to what falls from me, whereas in truth it can derive no real weight from any circumstance but its strict conformity with that holy book, which is the only

fountain of salutary wisdom. God forbid that I should have the self-sufficiency to think, that the humblest clergyman here present may not have more powerful gifts from the Almighty to enable him to enforce the truths of the Gospel, and deeper research of learning to illustrate them; if indeed any learning, except the intimate knowledge and right perception of the Bible, were necessary for our guidance. Speaking therefore with no authority, but that which Gospel-truth may bestow upon my words, I shall not travel out of the record of the holy scriptures, and shall found all that I shall have to say to you upon the book of God, which contains every thing necessary to salvation. I have drawn the subject of my discourse from one of the epistles to Timothy, because the epistles to Timothy and Titus, though containing matter of high value for the consideration of all Christians, may be looked upon as a permanent charge delivered by the Apostle to all Christian ministers; and that line of conduct, which he recommended to Timothy, should command our observance at this day in discharging the duties of our holy office. In the preceding verse he had told him to "follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace, with all them that call upon the Lord out of a pure heart." By those words he inculcated the general basis of the Christian religion, to which the minister was to adhere not only in his conduct, but in teaching those who were committed to his care; faith in our Saviour, as the only groundwork of salvation; good works and charity in its widest import as the produce of faith, without which it is empty and unserviceable; and peace with all the sincere disciples of Christ, which is inseparably united

with that charity which is the bond thereof, and which in another place he asserts to be greater than faith and gospel-hope, because it gives vitality to the one and a rational ground of existence to the other. Having told him what to follow, he proceeds to caution him, what it was his duty to avoid. "Foolish and unlearned questions avoid, knowing that they do gender strifes." It is of high importance that we should consider, what Timothy was thus instructed to avoid, and for what reason. I apprehend that things foolish and unlearned were very different in the meaning of the Apostle from their general acceptation amongst mankind. St. Mark couples foolishness with pride and blasphemy. (vii. 22.) In the Old Testament we find folly used for sin and immoral conduct. (*Gen.* xxxiv. *Josh.* vii. 15. *Judg.* xx. 6.) In Ecclesiastes anger is said to rest in the bosom of fools, (vii. 9.) and in the Psalms the fool is described to be an Atheist. (xiv. 1.) The scriptural fool is therefore a person of presumptuous unbelief, whose passions and whose conduct are not kept in subjection to the instruction given him by God. We must bring to mind, that, although the sense is now obsolete, yet in the language of Spenser and Shakespere, as well as in our version of the Psalms, to learn is used for to teach, and that the word unlearned (in the Greek ἀπαίδευτος) means untaught, and was used in that sense by the translator, being (with a negative) another inflexion of the word παιδεύοντα, which occurs in the 25th verse and is rendered "instructing." Παιδεύειν is strictly to instruct a child, though extended even to his correction and to the teaching of those, who (although further advanced in years)

are in like want of an instructor; παίδευτος means taught, ἀπαίδευτος* untaught. Looking therefore to the true sense of the passage, we shall readily see that ἀπαίδευτοι ζητήσεις, untaught enquiries, are enquiries into things concerning which we are not instructed by God; for the apostle does not call the vain wisdom of man, the jargon of the schools, the philosophy of the Greeks or Egyptians, learning and instruction; his directions to Timothy do not point to any such criterion for testing the propriety of the questions to be admitted or avoided. He orders him to eschew such enquiries as the fool or presumptuous unbeliever would entertain; such as relate to things which are not authoritatively taught to us; disquisitions upon points which God has not revealed; because the knowledge of them was not essential to our salvation, and the enquiry into them genders strife. That reason, assigned by the Apostle for the direction he gave, marks the great importance he attached to gentleness, peace, and harmony, amongst the disciples of our Saviour; and to shew that it is the importance of that point which he is desirous of impressing on his coadjutor, he adds the special direction to instruct with meekness those who set themselves against him. My brethren, I apprehend that no man who comes with an unprejudiced mind to the consideration of this passage, no man who is not actuated by a desire of litigation

* This is by no means an unimportant consideration, for I find ἀπαιδεύτους here rendered falsely in an Italian version *immodesti*, and in a German version (*Hallisch. udgav.*) as falsely *unnützen*, that is *useless* or *unprofitable*, and in the 25th verse the words ἐν πραότητι παιδεύοντα "in meekness instructing" rendered "und strafe," that is "and punish or correct forcibly," omitting all notice of the words ἐν πραότητι.

and of shaking off the prohibitions which oppose its indulgence, can have any sincere doubt as to the sense of the expressions of St. Paul; and it is a charge for ever imperative to all Christian ministers, for there is nothing in the lapse of years or the progress of events, which can affect its validity. The same unbelief still engenders presumption: the same presumption leads to enquiries into mysterious difficulties which it is not for man to solve; the same Spirit instructs the ministers of the gospel and enjoins them to abstain from controversies, and to conduct themselves with meekness and gentleness in conveying the instruction which is entrusted to them. But (although I firmly believe that no meek-hearted Christian will question the meaning and direction of the apostle), how many are there amongst the zealous, the high-minded, the pure-intentioned ministers of our Saviour, who cannot bring the exuberance of their intellectual gifts into strict subjection to this important injunction of the most powerful teacher amongst the disciples of our Lord! Let us try to apprehend exactly what is the nature of the questions the Apostle orders the minister to avoid. This injunction has no reference to researches that concern our worldly prosperity or inoffensive gratifications. The prohibition of the commandment against images is not interpreted by the strictest to forbid the beautiful labours of the sculptor or painter, where they are entirely unconnected with all considerations of worship: neither can the Apostle mean that it is unfit for mankind in general, or for those who are appointed to the ministry, to prosecute any enquiries which might lead to the advantage of man by enlarging his acquisition of practical or even speculative knowledge;

but he signifies that, in teaching the word of God to the people and in discussing that which is taught, over-curious enquiries should not be directed to points concerning which we are not fully enlightened by the word of truth. We have one Shepherd, and we are told that we are one fold. From what cause then is it, that (almost from the beginning) the church of Christ has been split into conflicting subdivisions? Why the never-ending variety of denominations? Even because from the first they neglected to obey the injunction of St. Paul. They plunged into those enquiries, from which they were ordered to abstain, and so truly did the Apostle say that such questions gender strife, that we are told by a heathen* writer of the 4th century, that no wild beasts were so inveterate against each other, as the different sects of those who in his days were professors of Christianity. O, how different would have been the state of this great city at the present day, the moral and religious position of its enormous population, if all who taught in the name of our Saviour had obeyed the charge of St. Paul! if they had stood together in meekness and unity under the broad banner of Christian truth, looking to the great practical results which should have proceeded from its unfurling amongst the nations, teaching the mighty and eternal promises and threatenings of the Gospel, and restraining the ignorant and self-sufficient from plunging into the labyrinth of polemic disputations concerning mysteries either hidden or imperfectly explained! Our Saviour revealed to us as much concerning His pre-existence, the nature of His Godhead, and His unity with the Father and the Spirit, as was necessary to stamp

* Ammianus Marcellinus.

the divine character on His mission, to distinguish it from the communications of prophets, and give mankind implicit and well-grounded confidence in the truth and certainty of what He promised and what He denounced. It was not an unlearned enquiry in the present sense of the word (for it was the offspring of too much learning and arose even from the vicious sophistry of heathen disquisitions) but it was an untaught enquiry, ἀπαίδευτος ζήτησις, to enter into discussion and strife concerning the essence of the divine nature of our Saviour, instead of uniting in peaceful faith and obedience to His commands. Whether it be true or not, that the Unitarian doctrines of Arius grew out of opposition to some unauthorized and superfluous opinions expressed by the bishop of Alexandria,* it is notorious, that such a reaction will always be the consequence of indiscreet disobedience to St. Paul's direction, and that wherever authoritative teaching applies itself to mysteries which God has not fully revealed to us, the result will be strife, dissent, and separation: and the nature of such separation is almost always a departure in opposite directions from the exact centre of truth; for it rarely, if ever, happens, either in religious or political discussions, that truth is perfect on one side and falsehood absolute on the other. Whatever points therefore have at any time led to disunion in the fold, whether disputes on the essence of the divinity, or the proceeding of the Spirit, or the nature of its indwelling, or the co-existence of predestination and free-will, or the state between death and the judgment, whatever particulars man has made the subject of acrimonious debate, while God has not distinctly explained them to

* Alexander.

him, fall under the nature of those foolish or presumptuous and untaught enquiries, which the ministers of the Gospel were ordered to avoid. Their solution could lead to no practical good; the Apostle saw the evil to which the discussions must necessarily conduce; he foretold that they would engender strife, and they have indeed made the fold of Christ a very hive of disagreement and contention. And shall we, my brethren, who have so much cause to believe and to rejoice that the characteristics of the true Catholic or universal church of Christ reside in our body, pure, unchanged, uncorrupted, and unperverted, shall we not hold together in unity, in brotherly love, in single-hearted co-operation, for the purpose of throwing down the strong-holds of ungodliness in this populous vicinity, in the way that the Apostle enjoins us, that is by instructing meekly those who oppose us, by refraining ourselves from arguments which do not lead to the practical results of increased holiness amongst our parishioners and neighbours, but originate strifes and dissensions amongst ourselves, subversive of the singleness, the humble forbearance, and the charitable fraternity of the Christian dispensation? Does any man doubt that unity of action amongst Christians is the one thing wanting, to enable the banner of Christ to float triumphantly over the kingdoms of the heathen, to overshadow the hovels of the poor, and to bring comfort with conviction to the dwellings of ungodliness and infidelity? And shall any member of our sacred ministry so far despair of harmony and brotherly union amongst the body of the clergy of this the church of England, this the Catholic or universal church, as every one of us professes it to be, that he shall cease to labour for their attainment?

that he shall throw himself into the ranks of conflict? that he shall set at nought the admonition of St. Paul! that he shall lend himself to the subtle views of that malevolent being, who has no mode so efficacious for establishing his evil kingdom and resisting the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on mankind, as by creating divisions and strife amongst those who are commissioned from on high to pull down his strong-holds and war against him to extermination? We hear it asserted that there are two parties in the church, and we are told by the indiscreet that it is necessary to gird ourselves as it were for battle. If it were so, I should say that a kingdom divided against itself would be in danger of falling; but I think those, who give way to such excitement, mistake our real situation. The great body of the clergy are, I trust, disposed to harmony, to know what is practically good and to ensue it, to avoid those extreme opinions and that seeking after the solution of untaught questions which gender strife, and to exert themselves in the exemplary and peaceable performance of their pastoral duties and leading their ignorant parishioners by meek instruction to humble and heart-correcting faith, to righteous works, and to scriptural hope. We cannot be too thankful that God has been pleased to work so mighty a change in the character and conduct of the clergy of this our country, as that which I have witnessed during the eventful period of my life. The end of the last and even the beginning of this century, if it saw an united clergy, saw it tending to agree too much in latitudinarian doctrines and disregard of holy duties, and admitting, I fear, the frequent infraction, not only of the commandments of God, but of the decencies of civilized life; it

sees us now united at least in zeal for the glory of God and the good of those committed to our charge; it finds us, I hope, scrupulous in the performance of duties, holy in our private lives, and in general rather disposed to press too hardly the reins of doctrinal teaching upon our fellow-workers than to shake off its authority. And what are the two alledged parties? A little while ago they might perhaps have been said to be in their tendency at least Calvinistic and Arminian. I believe they are not exactly such at present. What are they then? The high church party and the low church party. And what are those? Are low church doctrines necessarily Calvinistic, and those of Arminians high church? Is there such an inherent connexion? I apprehend not. It was well said by a high authority in our establishment, that "the church of England is not Lutheran, is not Calvinistic, is not Arminian, but is Scriptural," and I have often had occasion myself to assert that it is strictly, what it ought to be, the church of the book of God.* The very assumption of the name of an earthly leader is sufficient to shew that the flock, which takes it, is not the true flock of Christ; that it is one, like those of Cephas and Apollos, which the Christian apostle disallowed; and it is almost the necessary inference of there being two directly opposite denominations of Calvinists and Arminians, that Gospel-truth lies between them. It

* It is difficult to anticipate every possible misconception. It has been suggested to me that my words might be thought to mean, that the church was founded after the promulgation of the canon of the Scriptures. I had no such meaning. The church is strictly founded on the word of God, but the Bible is the only record thereof, and it is therefore the visible foundation on which the church stands.

appears to me very clear that the Allwise God must have foreseen from the beginning every thing that would occur, and that the Almighty God must have forewilled whatever He foresaw; and of course it follows that those, whose salvation He foresaw and forewilled, must have been chosen by Him, and that those, whose condemnation He foresaw and forewilled, must have been not chosen by Him; and that those, whose fall He knows will not take place, cannot fall; and that is the real substance of the five Calvinistic points; but it is equally clear to me, that whoever teaches that doctrine alone, does not preach the gospel of God; but, however ardent his faith in Christ Jesus, however earnest his misguided zeal, however pure the intentions of his heart, he becomes an instrument to confirm the self-sufficient in ungodly pride and dangerous security, to repel the humble and contrite sinner from the sanctuary of his God, and to represent the Almighty as a liar, who has declared that he takes no pleasure in the death of a sinner, that He wills not that any should die, but that all should repent and come to everlasting life, that the call is to all that will believe, and that those who do believe must take heed lest they fall. And what is the character of the opposite Arminian points? True, as to the offer of life to all through repentance and remission of sins by faith in Jesus Christ, excellent in all that tends to a good practical result, but open to the objection of trying to smother the fact that what God foreknew, that He must have predestined, if He is almighty as well as allwise. The truth seems to be that, whereas foreknowledge and forewill are the necessary consequences of God's wisdom and power, so the freewill of man to accept His gracious offers of mercy is the necessary con-

sequence of His justice and truth; and that we cannot believe the Gospel, if we do not believe that the freewill of man is reconcileable with the foreknowledge of God. How it is reconcileable is the greatest of mysteries, which it is not in the mind of man to unravel; but the sense of the freewill, which is given him, is so firmly rooted in his conviction, that, although it may be weakened in him to very bad effect by evil teaching, it cannot be altogether subdued: if it were annihilated, he would lose every motive for action. But the reconcilement of foreknowledge and freewill is not a whit more unintelligible to man than eternity. Existence without a beginning or without the duration of time is a thing impossible to his comprehension, though he is driven to the belief of it by considering that the First Being could not have created Himself. These are therefore amongst the foolish and untaught questions which ministers are to avoid, because they gender strife; and surely, my brethren, there is no call upon us at this day to separate ourselves more widely in support of such differences; surely, when we perceive the mighty strivings of infidelity, the latitude of various dissent, and the lingering of Romish superstitions around us, it is more than ever desirable that we should not adhere to this war of words, but should unite in preaching the Gospel so as to produce a reformation of life in the benighted objects who are crowded in the dwellings of ignorance, and to give no occasion to the enemy by our disunion. What then are high church and low church principles? The very words imply something wrong, a departure from the true level of propriety. We are of the church of Christ; and that we hold the church of England to be. I know nothing

of its being high or low: it is the church of the Bible. I know what church principles are; they are the principles descended to us from Jesus Christ and His apostles. But I hear from various quarters of two parties, of impending storms and interminable conflict. Let us be careful to what vessel and what seas we commit ourselves; let us beware, my brethren, of embarking in a phantom ship, that shall bear us amidst the rough waters of controversy far away from the haven of christian peace and blessedness. Whatever antagonist may assail us, openly or under the cover of insidious evil, let us be steadfast, immoveable, always abounding in the *work* of the Lord, and not blown about by every wind of doctrine. Are we to think the solid pillars of the church upheaved and conflicting blasts let loose upon us, every time that a misjudging, though learned and well intentioned, individual sends forth an objectionable pamphlet: and are those amongst us, who from experience and vigour of intellect ought to possess their vessels with calmness and undaunted serenity, to apprehend a fierce squall in the opposite direction and steer right upon the breakers in anticipation of its buffeting? What are low church principles? A disposition rather to curtail, than extend, the authority of the hierarchy? High church principles, then, must be a disposition to exalt and shew extreme deference to such authority and to magnify its essentiality in the church. Is there any thing in the present moment which calls for a muster of ranks for conflict upon this point? The latitude of opinion which prevailed at the end of the last and the beginning of this century occasioned a powerful reaction, after the progress of education by

enlightening the minds of both laity and clergy had produced a disposition amongst the latter to learn their duty and to do it. The attempt to ascertain it revived much veneration for what had been falling into disregard; and the natural consequence was an excess in that reaction, tending visibly to a recurrence towards the superstitions of Rome, the submission of the natural powers of the understanding to human controul, and the surrender of the plain import of the Gospel to the interpretation of fallible men. Here was cause for much uneasiness unto those who saw that tendency with aversion or displeasure. It was met by a disposition on the other hand to exalt the memory of those who had been most eminent in overthrowing the superstitions of Rome. But what is our present position? Those, who were prominent in the tendency to lead too far the supporters of high authority, have at last so far overshot the mark, so plunged into the excess of objectionable doctrine, that they have signed the warrant for their own depression. I view in this no cause of conflict, but I hail the hope of returning peace; the cessation (or at least the diminution) of that influence, which was urging those who respected authority, to a degree inconsistent with the liberty of gospel-truth, and was tending to re-establish the infallibility of human interpretation. But how can it be a cause for any man, who calls himself a high churchman, to be contentious? Surely it is a warning to him to take care with whom and with what opinions he associates himself; to see that he does not unwittingly go beyond what his sober judgment would justify; to entrench himself behind sound doctrine, and throw from him the scum of ill-

advised and superstitious lucubrations. Does it call upon those who are opposed to any increase of human authority in religious interpretations to become more pugnacious? If indeed any large portion of the clergy had assented to such doctrines as have issued lately (and I trust for the last time) from the bosom of one of our universities, though in direct opposition to its constituted authorities, I should have been very ready to protest against their dissemination; but I rejoice in their publication, because the mask is thereby removed; we see the point avowed, to which its wearers were gradually inclining, and by its removal the danger is taken away. I perceive therefore, in what has occurred, upon the whole cause for satisfaction with respect to the past, and hope of more harmonious co-operation for the future. We have gone through the re-action occasioned by the low state of the church at the beginning of this century with great advantage in the improved dispositions and quality of the clergy; and that re-action has now evidently reached the extreme point to which indiscretion could carry it, and must therefore have begun to retrograde. From that moment I trust that the distance between those amongst us who had cause of disagreement, will have ceased to be increasing; that the bonds of Christian kindness and unity will now be drawn closer than they have been of late, and that still better times are dawning upon us.

We are a numerous body of the ministers of our religion in this densely inhabited vicinity, and our numbers, still inadequate to the great and growing exigencies of the poor, will be erelong increased through the munificent liberality of the rich! but, when all shall

have been accomplished to provide religious instruction for the ignorant, it will depend upon us, whether it shall become effective, with the grace of God, for the salvation of the people. If we indulge ourselves in the entertainment of such questions as gender strife in our own body, we shall be inefficient to upset the holds of ungodliness. I entreat you therefore, as a member of that body of Christian ministers to whom the charge of the Apostle was delivered, as a fellow-worker amongst the thousands who are perishing eternally from lack of the word of God, as a human being amongst so many ignorant fellow-creatures, the eye of whose understanding is sunk in worldliness and infidelity, to meet each other in the spirit of conciliation and love, to be joint-labourers in this great and untilled vineyard of the Lord, to bear together the heat and burthen of the day, striving to assist each other in bringing about the mental improvement and the everlasting salvation of your neighbours. And let me beseech you to remember the further charge of the apostle, that we teach with meekness those who oppose us. It is not by publicly declaiming against and roughly attacking either the superstitious or the unbelieving, that we can lessen their number or importance. On the contrary every such overt act brings their doctrines into notice and their opinions under discussion, and such publicity encreases, instead of diminishing, their influence. It is by private argument and pastoral visitation, that they must be convinced, if they are open to conviction : it is by setting forth the true doctrine of Christ, with as little, as possible, of personality or reference to the individuals who maintain the contrary, that the progress of evil opinions may be arrested. It is not by

acrimoniously magnifying the differences between others and ourselves, that you can reconcile them to our teaching; but by gently and patiently assisting them to remove the stumbling-blocks which have descended to them from their parents or ancestors, and which their awakened intellect may be striving to overstep. The word of God is sharper than a sword, and, where it is duly applied with the grace of God preventing, it will not fail to penetrate the hardest heart; but we are not to use it as a sword with violence and asperity; "the "servant of the Lord," as the Apostle tells us, "must "not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, "patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose "themselves."

NOTE ON PINDARIC METRE.

Nov. 1841.

In the treatises, printed in this volume, on metrical laws and the harmony of language, I attempted to illustrate the rules of Latin metre, and to show how the temporal verse of the ancients was the foundation of our accentual poetry. It will be recollected, that in adapting modern words to music, the natural time of the syllables has been disregarded, the singer lengthening or shortening them as may suit the notes, and considering the accented syllables only as important. It is perhaps desirable, for the purpose of giving a more vivid perception of temporal verse to an English ear, to shew, that it is possible to write in our language the temporal lyric verse of the Greeks, who placed their accents more variably than the Romans, and are supposed to have paid no regard to them in metrical composition. With that view I framed the following lines, conforming precisely in quantity with the strophes of the first Olympic ode of Pindar. I have attempted, in the printed translation of the two first Olympic odes, to transfuse into English verse the peculiar spirit and style of Pindar, of which I have found little trace in any previous version; but the following lines, which are solely intended to illustrate his metre, will give a clear view of its nature. I have not leisure to investigate the whole of Pindar, so as to satisfy myself exactly concerning his accentual rules, but I am persuaded that he paid some attention to accent, as well as to quantity, in his compositions, though perhaps lines of

similar measure may be found with more accentual license in one ode than in another. The difficulty in our language is to bring together as many short syllables (especially accented short syllables) as occur in the Pindaric lines; and that difficulty is increased, when, as I believe, in some cases certain syllables must bear the accents, without the intervention of other accents. In this strophe the last line bears the accents always on the first and fifth, or the second and sixth, with three unaccented syllables intervening, and it is not accented on the last, but on the penult or antepenult. The line occurs eight times, and such peculiar rules, cannot, I think, be accidental. Mák|airan Hi|éronos hestian, Krá|tei de pros|é mixe despótan; Nin|aglao|triainan hárpasai, Sé|then dia|dásanto kai phágon; Etoim|on ane|phróntisen gámon, Eron|tas ane|bálletai gámon; É|chei melit|oessan éudian, É|ti glutu|téran ken hélpomai.

It will be observed, even in the variation here allowed, that each antistrophic or second line corresponds with that of the preceding strophe, though perhaps accidentally. I apprehend that the grave accent on de and kai might be called into use, or not, optionally. In this strophe the lines 1, 3, 8, 9, 11, 13, may have the last word running into the next line; it occurs in v. 1 three times, in 3 twice, in 8 twice, in 9 five times, in 11 four times, in 13 five times; the other lines must end with the word. This must have been conformable with the music, and not accidental, for in the 2d Pythian, which contains ten series, the first line *invariably runs into the second.* In this the last syllable of the eighth, ninth, and thirteenth are always short, of the others common.

With accents from heaven borrow'd
Harmony's caroling voice
Merrily breathed ravishment;
The meadow, the woodland, the forest's shade
Heard it. At the notes stirring
All the coy Hamadryads
Slowly from coverts of oak,
Green alleys shadowy
By idly-clustering eglantine
Adorn'd, rise in ecstacies.
Listen! Oreads the nimble!
Ye, that ever joyfully,
Rapidly, on a summer
Evening, of harmony
Little thoughtful, amid the tremulous
Bushes, glide serenely! Gods are uttering
The beau|tiful un|earthly symphonies.

I had first written "(1) The voice sweetly resounded in (2) Mildly blithe modulation; (3) Melody most delightful," but I found that the first offended against accentual rules, viz that, in the first, the fourth or fifth, and the seventh or eighth shall bear the accent. V. 2d and 3d might perhaps have been admissible, but there are no lines exactly so accented in the original. In v. 5 I had first written "At the notes awaked," and in v. 10 "from repose arise," but the rhythm requires the last syllable to be unaccented. The last line was at first, The sweetly mo|dulated | harmonies, but the accentual rules reject that form. I believe, as corrected, they closely represent the Greek strophe. The last syllable of eglantine is

strictly long, but it is so often pronounced eglantin, that I think the license of taking the final syllable as common may be permitted.

The following lines will be found to represent exactly the quantities and accentuation of Latin alternate iambics, without elisions.

Jĕhōvăh wīll rĕmĕmbĕr, hŏw stŭbbōrn sīnnĕrs
  Strīvĭng rĕsĭst hĭs hŏlĭnĕss;
Yĕt, ĭn rĕpĕntănce, hĕ pĭtĭĕth ăd̆vĕrsĭtĭ,
  Ănd thĭnkĕth ŏn their lănguĭshĭng.
Hĕ strĕtchĕth ōut thĕ tĕrrĭblĕ ārm ŏf mĭghtĭnĕss
  Tŏ shĕltĕr ŭs frŏm ăll pĕrĭls;
Ănd ĭn thĕ nĭght-tĭme mĕrcĭfŭl spĭrĭts hŏvĕr
  Ăroŭnd thĕ săd mŏurnĕr's păllĕt,
Tŏ drāw hĭm ŭpwārds gĕntlĭ frŏm thĭs wŏrld's sŏrrŏws,
  Ănd glŏrĭfĭ mănkĭnd's Săvĭŏur.

I observe an error in the last line of the English Alcaic stanza, p. 155, l. 7, which may be rectified by substituting ăctiŏn for mŏvement.

Horæ Pieriæ. P. 299. There is an awkwardness in the first stanza, in consequence of the suppression of the feminine name, Iris. That will be rectified by substituting Iris, colorum mater! *for* Spectrum beatæ lucis!

THE END.

G. NORMAN, PRINTER, MAIDEN LANE, COVENT GARDEN.

ATTILA,

KING OF THE HUNS,

BY

THE HON. AND REV. WILLIAM HERBERT.

SUPPLEMENT,

CONTAINING ABOVE

SIX HUNDRED ADDITIONAL LINES TO ATTILA,
BOOKS VIII, XI, AND XII,

FOR THE BETTER DEVELOPEMENT OF SOME OF THE
CIRCUMSTANCES AND CHARACTERS.

SECOND EDITION.

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1841.

ATTILA.

CONTINUATION OF BOOK VIII.

The day, which rose on Aquileia's fall, 370
Shone clear and still, illumining the shore
Where Hadria's queen had stood; but all within
From the Cæsarean wall unto the beach
Lay ruinous, an undistinguish'd heap
Blent in destruction; columns, capitals, 375
And tessellated floors, and marble sheen;
Statues that mock'd the life, and forms, late quick
With God's own breath, that, now defaced, shew'd less
Of man's similitude than those cold stones
With crumbling ashes strewn. Above the rest, 380
Tho' shatter'd, the old shrine of Felus rose,
A mighty wreck. Thereon the pagan sat
Musing in silence o'er the deed atchieved;
While, flesh'd with victory, his giant host
Spread its innumerous arms thro' every vale 385
Far o'er Italia's loveliness. Hard by
His glorious Sire, with puberty's young bloom
Just budding on his cheek, stood Irnach loved
Above his brothers, of that kingly breast
The hope and cherish'd pride. From the boy's front 390
Joy radiated, and far and wide his sight
Stretch'd o'er the bloody triumph, while he changed

The furr'd tiara for a Roman helm,
Spoil of the slain. Upon the gallant youth
Black-mantled Arderic smiled. That look call'd back 395
The mind of Attila. In quick review
From Aquileia's ruin it had sped
O'er the past field of life, and far away
Into the vast futurity; as when,
By slumber disembodied, the soul's eye 400
Travels with unfelt haste thro' space and time,
Swifter than light. His spirit, too often strain'd
By ardent yearnings, now sank gloomily,
And to the friend of his close heart he turn'd
Unbosoming its cares. " Gepidian king, 405
" Firm bulwark of my strength, and faithful oft
" Proved amid perils, unto thee alone
" My secret thoughts are given, when the cold fit
" Hangs like a winter-mist upon my soul,
" Chilling the life-blood of ambition. See 410
" With what a stern impress hath destiny
" Set on these walls her seal! Wealth, joyance, power,
" Weigh'd down beneath her iron hand, lie sunk
" In ghastly dissolution, though still lit
" By the same bounteous flood of light, that beam'd 415
" On the land's glory. Arderic, I would
" That city still were in her gorgeous robe
" Of undefiled security, and ne'er
" Had braved the wrath, which none may brave and live!
" Time creeps with noiseless presence unobserved 420
" Over the conqueror, and him who lies
" Trod under, and annihilate. We march
" On to that mighty goal, where fate sets high
" The culminating star of all my hopes.

" Rome, and Byzantium, and the distant Mede, 425
" Must fall before its bright ascendancy,
" And many a glorious city must, like this,
" Be blotted from the earth, teaching the weak
" To shun such bloody end, and chew the bread
" Of patience and submission; but at last 430
" The term appointed to all flesh must come,
" When the grand pageant of victorious war
" Will be, as if it never had held sway;
" And Attila himself, with this dread sword
" That rules the universe, pass far away 435
" From man's perception. What will then avail,
" And unto whom, the deeds which have been wrought?
" Can man resolve that riddle? and, if not,
" Are all our present toils for present joy,
" And is this joy?" " Great King," replied the chief, 440
" I am ill school'd to solve high mysteries,
" And hold it wisest with the sword to cut
" The knot of disquisition. I have learn'd
" That each man hath his hour, appointed long
" In fate's concealment, and ill fits the brave 445
" To entertain the doubt of when or how
" With vain anticipation. When it comes,
" My nation deems the brave will find in death
" A bright hereafter. On that faith content
" My spirit leans, and does with joy look forth 450
" On this triumphal waste; joy haply tinged
" With such emotions, as will cling perforce
" Unto the heart of flesh; yet joy to see
" Great ends atchieved, and all the bristling front
" Of fierce impediment trod down to earth, 455
" And thee, great monarch, magnified in power,

" Whom, second to no other, thus to serve
" It is my will and pride." " There is such joy,"
Replied the king; " and, when the hand of man
" Resists my will, this heart, which thou call'st flesh, 460
" Is hard within as flint, that yields no fruit
" Save the consuming fire; but, when all lies
" Before me desolate, and fierce revenge
" Hath quaff'd her full, an afterthought, dark, deep,
" And striving to burst through the mist of time, 465
" Swells in me, and a secret voice cries, why
" Hast thou done this? and then my thoughts revolve
" That power is given to me, and shall be still,
" With greatness, far excelling all that man
" Has compass'd yet; but earth I am, and soon 470
" To earth must turn again, and worms obscene
" Shall prey upon this form of glory. Then,
" The spirit asks, will that which I have rear'd
" Stand firm, a monument to after days
" Of what was Attila? I have wiped from earth 475
" All might that stood before me; but behind,
" From Danube to the frozen Scandian wave,
" Justice, contentment, peace, and mercy, bloom
" Under my strength; and thus I seem to sway
" The sceptre of a God, with equal hand 480
" Dispensing death and joy. But who, me gone,
" Shall wield it? The great empire, won by strength,
" Upheld by wisdom, and by justice bless'd,
" Who shall inherit? Of my countless sons
" That arduous toil the voice of destiny, 485
" From lips unerring pour'd, to the unfledged hope
" Of Irnach's youth assigns. Will he have power
" To hold what I have bound? or, with the hand

"That rear'd it, must the wondrous fabric sink,
"And all, that flourish'd under it, once more 490
"Be fell contention's prey? Must he too wade,
"Like me, thro' all his kinsmen's blood to power?
"And, (grant it) Arderic, wilt thou till death
"Uphold him with that stern fidelity,
"Which binds thee to my heart?" One instant gazed 495
That warrior on the boy; perchance the thought
Flash'd o'er his haughty spirit, which* erelong
Brought evil fruit, that it were hard to yield
Allegiance to the weak; but straight he flung
The image back, and with full heart exclaim'd, 500
"My liege-lord, whom I follow to the death,
"If fast integrity and faith need proof,
"Thou knowest that the rude Gepidian's sword
"Is prompter to avouch it, than his tongue;
"And that, which I have done, must plead alone 505
"For that, which will be; other pledge were vain,
"Alike unworthy him who gives or takes:
"But treason is around thee. In that throng,
"Gift of Aëtius, thy dissembling scribe,
"With gold, and the auxiliar arms of Rome, 510
"Is plotting for thy blood. Me, even me,
"His tongue's defilement dared approach with guile."
"I know the treason," Attila replied,
"Nor less the true of heart;" then loudly call'd
Orestes, Scottas, and Edecon, found 515
Faithful in need, and charged their trusty hands
To seize Constantius. Him of guilt arraign'd,
Thus he upbraided. "Dog! vile instrument

* See Hist. Treatise, § 67.

" Of him who nurtured thee ! What wilt thou ? What
" Has Attila withheld of good or rare, 520
" Which thy rank wishes coveted ? Who clothed
" Thy meanness with Byzantine riches, wrung
" From the reluctant emperor ? Who gave
" The noblest and most fair of Grecian* brides
" To be thy mate ? Rather foul beast, than dog ! 525
" (For dogs are to the sternest master true)
" Avow thy treason !" Pale and terror-struck
Stood silent with amaze the conscious scribe
Expecting death. Then kindled the Hun's eye
Flashing terrific, and impetuous rage 530
Burst from his voice.† " Accurst designer, speak !
" Or wife and offspring slain shall make for thee
" Instant atonement, and their sever'd heads
" To the Patrician on a charger sent
" Give answer to his treason." Fierce he spoke ; 535
Then bade Edecon with her issue lead
The beauteous matron forth, and, in his sight,
Slay them incontinent. A traitor's doom,
Death done upon the cross, had not appall'd
The vicious Roman ; but that menace sent 540
The blood with such disturbance to his heart,
He fell before the Hun, with loud lament
Disclosing allhis crime, and sued for death,

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* See Hist. Treat. § 37.

† The treason and pardon of Constantius are not historical, but such had been the previous conduct of Attila on learning the attempt of Theodosius to procure his murder through the agency of Bigilas, and it scarcely can be doubted that Constantius was recommended to his confidence with sinister motives by Aëtius, who is said to have compassed his death.

Death due for guilt, but unto him alone.
" Unworthy of my wrath, base caitiff, rise!" 545
Scornful the king rejoin'd. " Go hence in peace!
" Depart, and to thy foul suborner say,
" Fit comrade, and fit tool, thee Attila
" Sends to Aëtius! to that Roman chief
" Twice* raised by Hunnish arms unto the staff, 550
" Wherewith he sways the faithful! Shameless lack
" Of honest faith in who assert that name!
" Depart! but not the bride, ill link'd with thee,
" To whom it doth repent me to have join'd
" The widow of Armatius, once as high 555
" In rank and worth amongst the sons of Rome,
" As thou art vile!" This said, he bade the guards
Forth with safe-conduct usher from his camp
The subtle scribe; then, turning, thus address'd
The many. " Warriors, to the sack of Rome 560
" We go, and would that her degenerate arms
" Were worthy to confront us! Easy prey
" Suits not the hand, that wields this sword of power
" Transmitted from on high. Brave Huns, we march
" To-morrow." At those words, high raised, the voice 565
Of thousands cheer'd; legion from legion took
The joyous acclamation, far away
Where Apicilia's recent ruin smoked,
And Tiliaventus from his rocky bed
Sent up the shout, and swift Anassus shook, 570
And the high Carnian hills sent back the roar.
The while, slow rolling on the marble way,
Unnumber'd wains to Hunnium's guarded height

* See Hist. Treat. § 12. note.

Bore the rich booty. There, with strong reserve
Posted by Attila, the Bactrian king 575
And many a warrior clad in gleamy steel
Look'd eastward from the ramparts, to ward off
Illyrian inroad, or that* son of Thrace
Whose hardy valour on the eastern throne
Wielded regenerate power. Within that fence 580
Safe from all wrong Mycoltha's virgin bloom
Abode beneath his banner. There she bent
Over a lonely couch, where one, perchance
As lovely, but with statelier charms matured,
Lay faint and maim'd; sole relict, saved in vain 585
From Aquileia by the arm of lust
To be the Bactrian's slave. Gentle of heart
Mycoltha, with a leech's patience, stoop'd
O'er the disconsolate, and soothed her wo
With pity's bland assuagement. Half uprose 590
The pallid mourner; her enquiring eye
Gazed on the virgin, while between them grew
Sad interchange of speech. With deep-sunk voice
The Roman to her questioner replied.
"Thou see'st the widow of brave Oricus, 595
"Tarvisian Digna. Three short moons before
"The Hun had pour'd his sacrilegious host
"Over my country, in Saint Felus' fane
"He led me to the altar. Vain it were
"To thee, a pagan, thrall'd by carnal thoughts, 600
"(Who seemest yet of other mould, than those,
"With whom thou makest sojourn) to speak the tale
"Of Christian graces; how truth, piety,

* The Greek emperor, Marcian the Thracian.

" Endearing courtesies, and love, adorn'd
" The lord of my young heart. They rest, weigh'd down
" By the long slumber, till the fatal trump
" Shall wake us from the dead; but wo the while,
" That I abide, to see my country's wreck,
" To mourn our loves by heathen force cut short,
" And shrink from the dread morrow! Eternal God! 610
" Thy mercies overshadow all thy works,
" And will sustain my soul!" " Fair sufferer,"
Replied Mycoltha, " from the Bactrian tents
" That gallant chief I saw, of stature tall,
" Graced with surpassing symmetry, and strength 615
" Above his comrades. Fame to him assign'd
" Superior worth, valour and skill in arms,
" Which knew no equal." " Even such he was,"
Digna rejoin'd; " strong, beautiful, and brave,
" I saw him sally from the portal forth 620
" Arm'd at all points, and with his battle-cry
" Giving his horse the rein; I saw him strike,
" And, like an angel sent to smite and slay,
" With his good lance upon the Hunnish flank
" Pour death and terror; and, at every blow, 625
" I cried, for God and for our country strike,
" My lord, my life, my glory! Wo the hour,
" His course was like the levin-brand, whose bolt
" Ethereal nothing can arrest or stay,
" Till it has reach'd the goal, and gloriously 630
" Dies in the wreck it made! The moon-light shone
" That night upon the mangled form of him,
" Who was to me life, glory, love, and all
" Save my firm faith in God, who gives and takes
" For wiser ends, than mortal thoughts discern; 635

" And I was strengthen'd to exclaim, Great Lord,
" Thy will, not mine be done ! Darkling at night
" With two attendants the same path I trod,
" O'er which he rush'd to death. I found him pierced,
" Torn, trampled in the dust, where battle had raged 640
" Fiercest, and the red plain was cumber'd. Back
" We bore his body, and an army's grief
" Hallow'd his obsequies. Since then, retired
" In his sepulchral vault, I prayed to die
" Near my lord's ashes. Soon, too soon, the scourge
" Of the Almighty wrath prevailed. I heard
" Shrieks of the dying, and extremities
" Surpassing death ; the all-devouring flame
" Lit my dark mansion. Nigher and nigher still
" Approach'd the din : furious pursuit and flight 650
" Rang fearful thro' the vault, a scream, a voice
" Wild as the mountain-fiend's ; and on the grave
" My sister fell, thrice happy to have escaped
" Worse outrage. Then gleam'd many a Bactrian glaive
" Close by the corse, and, baffled of his prey 655
" By the kind hand of death, their leader turn'd
" On me, dead to life's uses, me the bride
" Of sainted Oricus, his eye of lust,
" And bade them save me. Strike, I exclaim'd, strike home,
" Fierce pagans ! and therewith I clasp'd the urn 660
" With such strong agony, their iron grasp
" Could not divorce me from that monument.
" They smote my hand with steel ;* the slender joints
" Fell from my fingers, and incarnate Hell
" Hath made me what I am." This said, she bow'd 665

* See the anecdotes of Honoria and Digna, Hist. Treat. § 61.

Her pallid countenance, from which had gleam'd
Strength more than feminine; then raised to heaven
Her eyes in prayer, and thus with alter'd tone.
" Forgive me, Lord of mercies, who hast said
" Bless them that persecute you, bless the foe 670
" E'en for his violence, and blessing thus
" Heap coals of fire upon his head. Thou, Lord,
" Thou shalt do right, and the weak arm of man
" Shall be as nothing in the awful day
" Of thy great wrath." A long sad pause ensued, 675
Silence, that spoke unto the inmost heart
Plainer than speech; at length Mycoltha thus.
" He is my father; with life's earliest milk
" I learn'd his faith, that man should hate his foes
" Requiting ill with ill; but other thoughts 680
" Have dawn'd upon my musings, and I seem
" To have walk'd long in mist; for never died
" A pagan with such joy, as they* who bled
" Victims in Catalaunum. Ever since,
" Lucilia's voice hath warbled in my ear 685
" Glad tidings of a Saviour, who hath led
" Death captive. Fain would I a Christian be,
" And learn to die, and, what is more, like her
" And thee, to suffer." " God's high name be praised!"
The Christian mourner cried; " His righteous will 690
" Can draw life's savour from the deadliest deeds,
" And make them work for good. Who shall forbid
" Water, that this meek virgin be made thine!
" Unworthy, Lord, tho' thy maim'd servant is
" To do thy blessed ministry." This said, 695
With placid visage, from her bosom's fold

* See book 3, v. 370.

She drew a scroll of John's evangely,
And open'd all the scripture, telling first
Of prophets and of seers, and many a type
Portending Him, who, when the time was full, 700
Made good the promise; then of saving faith,
Firm trust in Him who died, hope, charity,
And changeless truth, and resignation meek
That lifts the soul to heaven. "I do believe,"
The virgin said, and kneeling pray'd to Christ; 705
Then, as such narrow strait of time and means
Yielded occasion, from baptismal rites
Arose regenerate. With grateful care
Three days she tended the pale sufferer's couch,
Giving and taking comfort, and each day 710
Wax'd stronger in belief; but death had set
Fatal impression upon Digna's brow,
And, thankful to her Maker, she expired.

ATTILA.

BOOK ELEVENTH.

To be inserted in lieu of verse 240.

To scale the high defences. Stillness deep 240
Succeeded, till with anguish-breathing voice
The mournful silence thus Mycoltha brake.
" Andages, it is done ! To us the term
" Of those short joys, which mortal sympathies
" Can yield, is passed into death's shadow. Nought 245
" Remains on earth, to who has braved the will
" Of him tremendous, in whose hand is placed
" Jehovah's brand of wrath. Father of good,
" Deal mildly with thy servants ! Grant, that we,
" Link'd in one doom, may drink the cup of death 250
" Together, and in glory taste thy peace
" Perturb'd by force no more! O heart's fond wish,
" Breathed oft, but not accepted! bootless prayer!
" That thou, beloved, on whom I lean with trust
" Too earthly, at the fount of Christian hope 255
" Which sprinkled me with blessedness, should'st kneel
" Near thine espoused bride." To her the youth
Deep sorrowing; " Desired, above all joy
" Man can possess ! and, in the acquirement lost!
" O miserably, and past retrievement, lost! 260
" My fathers worshipp'd that terrific God,

" Who wields the fate of battle; me and them
" Oft he has heard. On Chalons' field I called
" On him, and low before my lance he laid
" The glory* of Tolosa. Is thy God 265
" Able to save, and from extremest strait
" Enlarge his servants? Will he suffer thee,
" (O far excelling amongst all his works!)
" In thy spring-tide of loveliness, to fall
" By death annihilate, or (maddening thought!) 270
" Become the prey of power?" " Andages, He
" Can save unto the uttermost, and will,
" Even in this extreme," (the maid replied)
" If it be just and meet, when weigh'd by Him,
" Who holds the ends of good and seeming ill, 275
" For comfort those, and these for trial hard
" But wholesome to the soul." No answer gave
Andages. Fill'd with the one hope to die
Defending her, whom hope to save was none,
He listen'd to the coming step of death. 280

* Theodoric. See b. 1. v. 87. and b. 3. v. 176.

ATTILA.

BOOK TWELFTH.

To be inserted after verse 86.

ALONE, from empire's care short space retired,
The king of nations communed with his thoughts,
Dark recollections, and uneasy hope,
Which touch'd no grateful chord. Revenge had work'd 90
Its bloody will, and tyrannous desires
Had blazed to light, while gloating fancy view'd
Their full completion nigh; but joy came none
Unto the inner man. That evil wish
Press'd on the soul with such foreboding weight, 95
Bliss reach'd not there; sullen, unsatisfied,
The spirit within, by fruitless passions vex'd,
Brooded o'er fantasies. Strange visions rose
Of the Sarmatian shepherd's humble cot,
By one chaste partner graced; the mess of herbs, 100
Where peace dwells, better than the regal feast
Of love's voluptuous variety,
And strife therewith. Sudden with alter'd brow
He started from that dream, as Hilda's voice,
Liquid and clear, within the sculptured wall 105
That girt his palace, from his faithful guard
Peaceful admittance craved. The monarch's hand

Moved to the hilt, but fell as quickly back
Upon his oaken throne. Calm, motionless,
He bade her enter. The first time since hate 110
Had sever'd those stern spirits, once conjoin'd
In strictest love, they met, placed front to front
Without a witness. Conscious thoughts illumed
Her cheek, translucent with the vermeil hue,
And, when her virgin charms first call'd him lord, 115
They scarce exceeded in that blushing hour
Her present self. " I thank thee, Attila,"
Thus she began, " I thank thy justice, done
" Too late, but righteously (how late soe'er)
" Both doom'd and done. Just is it, the vile worm, 120
" Placed by thy fraud in my unwilling bed,
" Should be by thee at once divorced from life
" And that proud eminence. I thank thy wrath
" For Gunther's death." She ceased; from her dark eyes
The majesty of perfect beauty gleam'd, 125
Terrific loveliness; like that fell snake,
Which, arm'd with close malignity, displays
Its scaly pride, and with strange radiance, pour'd
From its fix'd vision, fascinates in hate
What it would slay. No answer Attila 130
Vouchsafed, but silent chew'd the bitter cud
Of things long past, emotions spent, and deeds
Wrought in his earlier prime. " That knot is cut,"
The queen resumed; " and Hilda once again
" Is free from that abhorr'd entanglement, 135
" Wherewith thou didst enthrall her. Attila,
" The time has been, when thou wert all to me
" That youthful wishes dream'd. Fancy could weave
" No brighter spell. Inspired by thy great soul,

" And breathing a twin spirit, I embraced 140
" Thy rugged limbs, and gazed on thy grim cheek
" With a young bride's devotedness; and all
" The fairest semblances of manly grace,
" That ever to a maiden's pillow call'd
" Amorous imaginings, in my esteem 145
" Lost by compare with thee. Thy sister, (born
" Equal in rank, from one great fountain sprung,
" As fit to wield the sceptre and the sword,
" And wiser in deep lore) I gave thee all
" Woman could give; a form not ill esteem'd, 150
" And fresh with youth's accomplishment; a heart
" As ardent as thine own. I was thy guide
" To power, thy counsellor, the strong right-hand
" Of thine intelligence. I gave thee all,
" All, Attila, save that one precious pledge, 155
" Whose beauty crown'd our couch. Where am I now?
" Ejected, scorn'd, thrown to thy very slaves,
" The offal of thy love; but still unblench'd
" In outer form, in spirit, in the power,
" Before which now thy stern eye quails to earth, 160
" Unequal to confront me. Where is she,
" My daughter? Crown'd upon thy kingly throne!
" Usurper of a mother's couch and rights!"
Haughty she spoke, and haughty he replied.
" Sister of Attila, thine own deserts, 165
" Thy precious gifts, whether of youthful bloom,
" Or the mind's daring, well hast thou detail'd,
" Well magnified; but me it ill beseems
" To bandy high reproaches, and cast back
" Anger for anger. To let thee abide 170
" (Proud as thou art, fairest perchance of all)

" Amongst the beauteous consorts of my throne,
" Traversed my will. I gave thee to a prince,
" Burgundia's pride, of Nibelungian hoards
" The famed inheritor. But thou art cursed 175
" To whosoever possesses thee, and death
" Has been his meed; event well born of thee,
" And well conceived! Sage counsellor of good!
" Sure guide and safe!" "Add to oppression scorn,"
Hilda rejoin'd, "but still expect the end. 180
" Which, mid the glory of thy boundless sway,
" May fling thee from thy greatness. This hand, chaste
" Save by thy treason, with no other hand
" Shall ever make union. Thine, unto the death
" I still am thine; and hate, though dark and deep, 185
" Shall never dissever us. The while, secure,
" Mark thy destiny! Add bride to bride,
" And from thy transient joys draw perilous fruit
" To thy retirement, the mind's canker, keen
" Self-judgment, loneliness of heart and soul! 190
" And worst, thou fall'st, as signs prophetic bode,
" Perishing, yet shall be noted, that of those
" Thou gave thee, none were link'd to thine embrace
" By ties so strong, save she who hates thee most,
" And thy loves." This said, with stately port 195
The queen departed. He nor spake, nor stirr'd;
Wrapt full in deep disquietude, he thought
Of the wild woman, who had warn'd him back
From the wavering gulf, her hand, and his good horse
Conveyed to the wilderness; and now 200
A crowd of strange and gloomy cares
Hovered on his spirit: Fiesla's haggard form
Seems present to his sight, and kindred shapes,

Mama and* Atakam, with all who died
Nail'd on the cross, weak obstacles o'erwhelm'd 205
Upon his path to power. Hilda pass'd on
To yellow-hair'd Mycoltha's bower, where pale
From anguish, her blue eyes' ethereal beam
Suffused by the heart's mournfulness, she sat
A lonely captive, midst the glittering pomp 210
Of bridal mockery. The sapphire wreath
In Bactrian† fashion round her forehead bound
Excell'd not the eye's lustre, so obscured;
And golden chains of finest texture hung
Twined round her graceful neck, lovelier perchance 215
Without adornment; and of gorgeous breadth
A gold-chased belt of emerald confined
The snowy robe of silk, beneath her breast
Moulded luxuriantly; and perfumes rare
Of spiritual essence, choice delight 220
To Ariaspe's‡ sisterhood, diffused
Voluptuous odour round. But her regard
Turn'd, from those vain appliances, to two
Dear gifts by Digna given, the scroll of truth,
And a small silver cross. Them, long with zeal 225
Secreted, darkling, she had cherish'd, thence
Extracting joy in wo, and in despair
Hope, other hope, than o'er her infant mind
From Buddha's Orient shrine or the untouch'd flame

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* See Hist. Treat. § 19.

† The Bactrian women used splendid apparel, perfumes, and much of gold ornaments and jewels.—*Pliny*. Emeralds were worn by the most worthy.—*Q. Curt.*

‡ The ancient name of Bactriana.—*Pliny*.

[illegible] Cynthia dawn'd. With no mild will 230
On her the queen majestically bent
Her lack-brow'd gaze, illumined by such charm
As the Moore wears: and thus, "Fair maid,
"Thou fair perhaps, if beauty, else secure,
"Gather'd by violence must drop with wo 235
"In joy's first bliss, mine, awake! arise!
"Hast thou the strength to bare?" "Small pride of strength
"His Heaven's high bounty in these limbs bestow'd,"
Swiftly the maiden replied. "May He, who shaped
"And breathed His breath into this body, form'd 240
"Not for dishonor, by His mercy grant
"Endurance, and in my weakness make
"His power strength perfect!" On that maiden form
Strength, by despair of human help
Nerving, shower'd; long look'd with thoughts intent 245
The slumber-stricken queen; and would have spelt
What power sustain'd her, and have drag'd to light
The [illegible] by [illegible] finger writ
Upon [illegible] and mile she.
[illegible] was scan'd to know
[illegible] whose paths are peace;
[illegible] drew a dagger forth,
[illegible] with venom'd point, imbued
[illegible] "Durest thou strike?"
[illegible] fraught with death 255
[illegible] be the child of bliss.
"[illegible] strike him, whose might
"[illegible] blessed hope

"Of thy heart's joy?" Scarce knowing what she did
And paler than a bloodless spectre, she 260
The deadly weapon took; strange lustre flash'd,
As grew the thought within, from her still eye
Lit with new energy; and, giving voice
To the deep yearning of her soul, she said
Low whispering, "Does Andages live?" "He sleeps,"
As low, the queen replied. So quickly pass'd
That gleam of passion from the virgin's face,
And her lip quiver'd, and the shining blade
Dropp'd from her hand. With look in agony
Upraised to heaven, "Vengeance is Thine!" she said, 270
"Thou wilt repay." Silent and wondering
The tempter, in whose bosom vengeance reign'd
Sole arbitress, survey'd her; nor divined,
How that afflicted heart beat once again
Slow as before, and, to its Saviour turn'd, 275
Drew comfort born of meek humility
From glowing faith. "Vengeance indeed is mine,"
At length the enchantress said, "and wo betide,
"If I repay not!" Scornful, forth she fared
Unto her dark designs. Alone, unseen, 280
Mycoltha pray'd. "Teach me to do Thy will,
"Almighty Father, and to suffer what
"Thy mercy shall inflict! My earthly hopes
"Are in the grave, and vast eternity,
"By thee reveal'd, before my dazzled eye 285
"Spreads as a vision. O bow down from heaven
"In majesty, Thou source of light and life!
"Instruct my weakness! What thou wilt is just!
"I know Thou canst deliver me, if so
"Seems to Thy wisdom good. All else is wrong." 290

From that appeal she rose calm, fortified,
And wiped from her fringed lids the tremulous drops
Just springing to their brink: then turn'd again
To that blest page of solace, which had given
To earth, and heaven, and all the things thereof 295
A new aspect, opening the darksome eye
Of her untaught intelligence: and, fill'd
With thoughts of praise, and resignation built
On trust in the Almighty will, she drank
Therefrom the promise of eternal life. 300

ATTILA.

BOOK TWELFTH.

To be inserted in lieu of v. 165 *&* 166. 167-8 (*now* 405-6) *not changed.*

"Arm me with strength." This said, the virgin strove
Repelling force with bold reluctancy,
And beam'd disdain; but strength was not vouchsafed, 380
Save to the soul, nor present aid, to shield
Woman's best attribute. Resistance chafed
Him absolute, and heat of inward rage
Suffused his sallow countenance. The cup
In wassail deeply quaff'd and rank with drugs 385
Mingled by vengeance to o'erwhelm the pulse
With vehement flood, and at its ebb induce
Slumberous oppression, work'd distemperature
Through all his frame. Upon his feeble prey,
Fierce as Hyrcanian tyger, dark as night, 390
His angry brow was fix'd; his arm retain'd
The palpitating victim of his will
Strictly embraced, and bow'd with rugged might
Her jewel-cinctured charms. Obstructed pride,
And passion wrought to perilous excess, 395
Made his heart strangely beat, and every throb
Sent back the ruddy tide with such a swell

Unto the gates of life, that all within
Reel'd, and the spirit shaken from its throne
Was prompt to make escape. A dizzy film 400
O'erspread his vision; and, amazed, the maid
Felt his dire grasp relax. New vigour, sprung
From ecstacy of heaven-descended hope,
Braced all her limbs with power, and, nerved by faith,
She flung the strong one from her, as the reed 405
Stoops to the wind. O God! Thine arm was there!
&c. &c.

NOTE.

Concerning the situation of Castrum Turonicum, and the diameter of the Hunnish Rings, described at p. 389 of Attila King of the Huns, see above Horæ Scandicæ, p. 227.

ERRATA ET EMENDANDA.

B. 1. v. 150—1. *read* with solemn chaunt
Unholy adoration,

B. 2. v. 721. *for* Right glad was Attila when those sounds ceased,
And, issuing from the gloom, *read*
Glad was the heart of Attila, when ceased
The deadly striving; and, emerging straight,
From that Tartarean gloom,

B. 3. v. 233. *for* loathly *read* guilty

B. 4. v. 168. *for* Saragossa *read* Calahorra

——— 456. *for* blood *read* gore

B. 5. v. 531. *for* of the ill *read* of ill

B. 9. v. 8. *read* Lost to man's highest purposes, enslaved

B. 10. v. 296. *for* impious *read* Syrian

——— 373. *for* loathsome *read* nauseous

B. 11. v. 127. *for* Set on a crucifix *read* Uplifted to a cross

B. 12. v. 346. *for* Mitraton *read* Mitatron

Hist. Treat. p. 343. L. 25. *for* Mysian *read* Mœsian

Page 447. *note*, L. 10. *read* was fought

——— ——— L. 15. *read* have had

Page 538. L. 17. *dele* the

——— 546. L. 31. *for* Buonacosti *read* Buonaccorti

Page 359, *note*. Sozomen is quoted by mistake, instead of Socrates and some other writer, to whose work the reference is mislaid.